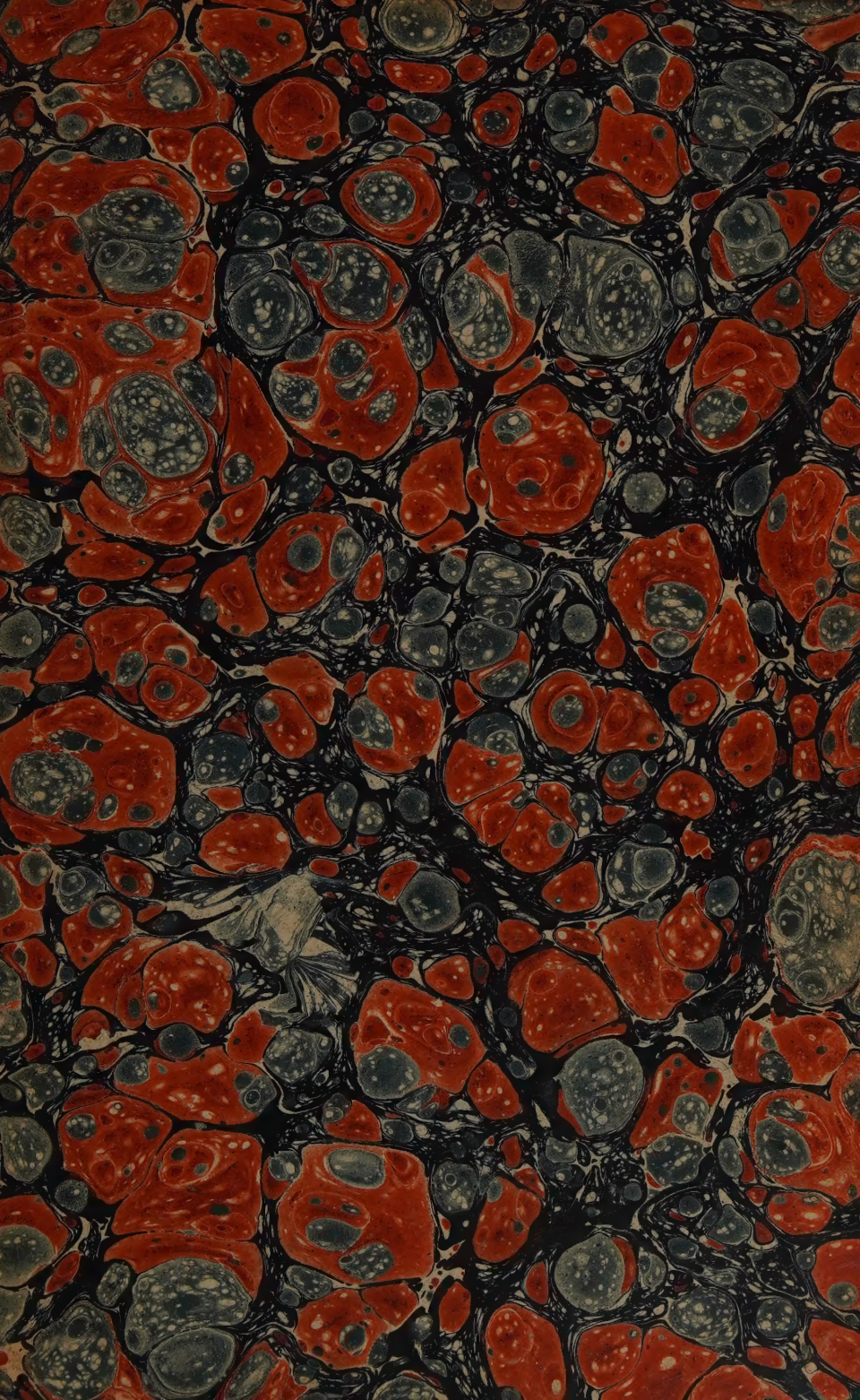

Caroline Walker

THE

NORTHERN COURTS;

CONTAINING

Original Memoirs

OF THE

SOVEREIGNS OF SWEDEN AND DENMARK,

SINCE 1766;

INCLUDING THE EXTRAORDINARY VICISSITUDES IN THE LIVES OF THE GRAND-CHILDREN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY MR. JOHN BROWN,

AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIES OF NEUTRALIZATION; THE NAVAL ADVOCATE; AND OTHER TRACTS RELATIVE TO NEUTRAL FLAGS AND THE RIGHTS OF BELLIGERENTS.

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GUSTAVUS THE THIRD.

CHAP. I.

A journey to Petersburg.—Royal reconciliation.—Birth of an heir.—Melancholy catastrophe.—Popular discontent.—Degradation of the senate.—Northern confederacy.—Alliance with Denmark and Russia.—Gustavus travels to Spa.—Family discord, and family secrets.—Louisa Ulrica.—Her death, and character.—Catherine the Second.—Gustavus the Third.—Mutual hatred, and reciprocal duplicity.—Gustavus travels through Italy.—Some interesting particulars of his tour.—His magnificent collection of statues and paintings.—Returns by way of Paris.—Arrival of Gustavus at Stockholm.

Gustavus, in 1777, went on a visit to the court of Catherine. His reception was brilliant in the extreme. The maritime pretensions of Great Britain, and the final partition of Poland, are said to have formed a part of the political subjects discussed between the empress and king. The court of St. James's having offended this haughty prince, by not investing him with the Order of the Garter, to avenge the slight, he

placed a medallion, in bronze, of Prince Edward Stuart, opposite to his own in his *royal divan;** and made very free with the character of George the Third. With all his polish, Gustavus could sometimes express himself in terms alike coarse and offensive.† It is by no means improbable that he was influenced by private pique, when, at a later period, he joined Catherine the Second, against Great Britain. In the month of August, Gustavus returned to Stockholm, in a very superb yacht, presented by the empress; and, as well as his courtiers, literally laden with rich and costly presents.

* A room so named in the west-front of the great palace at Stockholm.

† The first post-house south of Stockholm, is named Fittja,—a word that in the Swedish tongue has a double and risible signification. Gustavus the Third, even in the presence of his queen, his sister, and the first ladies of his court, used to amuse himself with strangers recently arrived, by asking them to pronounce the word Fittja, how they liked it, &c.; who frequently complied, saying they thought it a poor, insignificant, nasty, little place; at which he would laugh heartily, enjoying the blushes, and evident confusion of the females.

The amorous propensities of that elegant, handsome, accomplished courtier (Chevalier,) now Baron Adlercrantz, are well known in Sweden. In talents he approached the king: but as regarded females, no greater contrast in disposition could exist. When he was ennobled, and took the name *Adlercrantz*,—Gustavus, with more wit than delicacy, said,—"Adlercrantz! he should be named *Mousicrantz!*" Those who are conversant with the *Swenska Tala*, will have no difficulty in comprehending with what sort of a crown Gustavus would have decorated this accomplished knight.

The year 1777 was remarkable, in Swedish annals, by a reconciliation that took place between Gustavus the Third and his consort. From the period of their marriage in 1766, to this period, they had not lived together as man and wife. This event was distinguished by a grand festival; and the next year, by the pregnancy of the queen.* The king convened the states to meet in October; being

* The following extract from Mr. Ristel's work, with the original notes attached, will throw much light on the Secret History of the court of Gustavus at this period.

The limits of this memoir, that is intended rather to display the extraordinary qualities of Gustavus the Third, than to give a history of a reign that would fill a large volume;—forbids a detailed narration of the extraordinary circumstances already mentioned, connected with the birth of a son and heir in 1778, to the throne of Sweden. The reasons for doubting the legitimacy of this child, belonging rather to the life of his successor, Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, will be found in their proper place, in the historical sketch of that unfortunate and inglorious reign.——

"Next to the king, the queen is a worthy object of our attention. Among other eminent qualities of that princess, it is perhaps her first merit that she meddles not with politics: she is the king's wife, and nothing else. Sweden has had sufficient experience of the evils arising from female influence in political matters, and rejoices to see upon the throne a queen possessed of all the charms of her sex, and confining her ambition to the practice of its virtues.

"With all her accomplishments, she was not so happy at first as to captivate the inclination and confidence of her spouse, then crown prince of Sweden. Her countenance

anxious that the queen should be delivered during their sitting, that they might become the sponsors of a child born, as it were, under their own eyes.

The king opened the diet with a speech that was, as usual, marked by energy and elegance, both in its composition and delivery. " Notwith-

and manners, at her first arrival in that country, bore too visible marks of the constraint and severity of her education under the queen dowager of Denmark ;* and the reception she met with from the queen of Sweden, her mother-in-law, was not at all encouraging. She had also about her person some Danish domestics, who, to have her entirely in their power, inspired her with continual fear and diffidence ; which naturally caused a reserve and coldness in her behaviour, and totally removed the prince's affection.

" She led a very retired life as princess ; but as soon as her husband had mounted the throne, and wished to see the court more frequented than it had been during the reign of his father, and had signified his desire to the queen that she should appear oftener in public, and receive the nobility into her company, she readily obeyed, and appeared as contented as the happiest queen in the world. She was the more a sufferer, as she really loved the king ; but thinking herself slighted, pride would not permit her to betray the secret of her heart. She bore her disgrace with patience and resignation several years, until *an accident*† made her better known to her royal spouse, and caused a *perfect reconciliation*.‡

* Juliana Maria.

† It is not improbable, that Mr. Ristel, the author of the above work, was himself concerned in *arranging* this " *accident*."

‡ What a prostitution of language! Instead of being reconciled, their mutual hatred increased.

standing the necessities and expenses of the three preceding years, I have," said Gustavus, "been enabled by prudence and economy, to put the kingdom in a state of defence, and restore its ancient splendor, without exhausting the national finances:—I have, therefore, not called you toge-

"The king had made a voyage into Finland, and sent an express with letters to the royal family, to let them know of his safe arrival. As the express had orders to return as soon as possible, they would all write to the king by the return of the messenger; and the young duchess of Sudermania having finished her letter, she went to the queen to tell her that the courier grew impatient at waiting, as no one else dared to interrupt her majesty whilst she was writing. The queen had just finished, *and was going* to give her letter to the Danish gentlewoman to write it fair, as she ever used to do with all her letters; *but the duchess snatched it up and ran away with it, saying the king should owe great obligation to her, for having by her means, a letter written by the queen's own hand. She sealed it up with her own letter, and sent it away.* The king, who had never seen the queen's hand-writing before,* was surprised and highly charmed with the contents. There was a delicacy of sentiment, and a gentleness in the expressions, he had never found before in her letters. *He read it aloud to some of his favorites† with great satisfaction;* and having finished, he

* It is a very difficult task to fabricate a narration so skilfully that no glimpse of its spurious origin shall appear. How Mr. Ristel, an old experienced courtier, came to compromise his veracity in this manner, is difficult to surmise: he might almost as well have asserted, that the king had never seen the queen's face.

† Gustavus the Third was the first of actors, and he was too

ther to demand succours or subsidies, but merely to rejoice with me in the felicitous situation of my kingdom; and to be witnesses of my wife's delivery: and lastly, that I might discharge the promise given at the dissolution of the last diet.

asked *them* what *they* thought of the letter? "From the tender concern the queen expresses for my health and welfare," said he, "I should almost have the vanity to believe she loved me." *A young gentleman* present had the boldness to ask, if his majesty had *never* known that before? The king startled at the question, and answered with a *serious* look, that he had had so many proofs to the contrary, that he never could persuade himself she had for him any real affection. The gentleman answered, that if his majesty would permit him to reply, he dared to assert that all such ideas were fallacious, *and put forth by persons who had an interest in creating divisions in the royal family;* and upon the king's asking him how he could be *so certain* of the truth of his assertion, he frankly owned, that he was upon terms of the *greatest intimacy** with a lady who had a good share in the queen's confidence, and it was by that means he came by his knowledge of the queen's sentiments; and that it *now* depended upon the king to assure himself of their reality whenever he pleased. *The king, having a great opinion of the character of the gentleman* †, was almost persuaded; and in

good a judge to suffer any better company to witness this *rehearsal* of the first act of the *royal farce* then in agitation.

* It was adopting a singular way of supporting the *purity* of the queen's mind and conduct, for this young courtier to tell the king, her husband, that he had *an intrigue* with her chief female friend and confidant.

† No doubt he had: young Rosenstein, who was nephew to Count

I have also to entreat you to stand sponsors to the infant which I expect will shortly see the light; —*and if heaven should grant me an heir to my throne, may he be one day worthy to ascend the throne of Gustavus Vasa, and of Gustavus Adolphus! May*

consequence, he wrote a letter to the queen, full of the *warmest expressions* of esteem and friendship, assuring her, he should feel himself happy, if at his return he might be convinced of the reality of the sentiments expressed in her letter: in the mean time, he begged the favor of having another letter written by her own hand, that he might experience again the pleasure which the former had given him. The queen, agreeably surprised at so *unexpected* * a change, answered according to the dictates of her heart; and when the king was expected home, she prepared a splendid feast for his return, and received him with that modest tenderness so flattering to its object.†

Hermansen,—whose political subserviency to the views of Gustavus the Third, opened his way to the first honors in the state,—had already received his lesson, and, like many others who had enjoyed the advantages of the king's tuition, he proved an apt scholar. His zeal and fidelity in aid of the king in this *delicate* piece of business, was afterwards rewarded, and amongst other means, by the appointment of literary preceptor to the *young prince*, for whose future being he was then arranging matters.

* Most absurd! The duchess of Sudermania (now queen of Sweden,) had previously instructed the queen what to write; and it is by no means improbable, that the same courier who returned with this *magical* letter that is said to have wrought such wonderful effects on the king, carried the *draught copy* to the duchess, written by the king's own hand.

† This *fiction* has been greatly embellished, and not unskilfully, in the *fabrication* called LETTERS OF THE SWEDISH COURT, p. 132, to the end, published about 1810 or 1811.

he remember that it is the first duty of a Swedish king to love and honour a free people; and may the crown be no longer his than he shall act in conformity to this truth. It would make me wretched if I believed my descendants likely to forget, that Providence, in placing them at the head of a

That very evening they came to an explanation, and were convinced of their former mistake of each other's sentiments;* the king re-conducted the queen to her apartments, and for a long time he had no other bed-chamber † than hers. The Danish gentlewoman, being convicted ‡ of having *altered* the queen's letters, was dismissed from her service, and *sent out of the kingdom.* The young gentleman (Rosenstein), who had undertaken the *queen's defence*, was rewarded by *many rich presents* from her majesty; § and the king, as well upon that consideration as in respect to his merit, has since raised his fortune in an eminent degree.

* There existed no such mistake: the king cherished an inextinguishable aversion *(for it lasted till his death)* against the queen.

† It should have been the *king's bed-chamber*, from which there was a *secret staircase* made that communicated with *Baron Armfeldt's* apartment, of which the king kept a key.

‡ It is not *impossible* but this Danish lady might have been guilty of this practice; if, however, the imminent risk she ran of being detected were duly considered, the charge must appear to the highest degree *improbable.* The truth is, this lady was bribed high enough to induce her to plead guilty, in order to give colour and consistency to this *extraordinary* reconciliation, and support the allegations of M. Rosenstein.

§ A little farther on, Mr. Ristel describes the queen as being of a penurious turn, *except* for the embellishment of her own person. What inconsistency!

great nation, has entrusted to their care the happiness of a free and generous people."—Within a couple of days after this speech, Sophia Magdalena was delivered of a male child, that was the first immediate heir to the throne, since Charles the Twelfth, who was born in Sweden. He was bap-

"*The unexpected harmony within the court very much puzzled some ladies and gentlemen, who had formerly taken the liberty to divert themselves at the queen's expense.* They would at first persuade themselves and others, that it was but *political* on the king's side; but *having tried his disposition*, and finding him serious, *they were quite out of countenance.* They now repaired to the court of the queen dowager,* whom they knew never loved the young queen, as having come into the family contrary to her advice. They *presumed* she would not be dissatisfied with hearing *reports* and *discourses* injurious to a person she disliked,† nor were they much mistaken in their conjectures. The palace of the queen dowager became the repository of all the calumnies *invented* against the young queen, and some were of a nature not to be suffered.‡ The queen dowager having *repeated* these accusations, they came to the knowledge of the young queen, *who*

* Mr. Ristel disgraced his character as a gentleman and a man of letters, by thus calumniating the memory of the greatest queen that ever sat on the throne of Sweden. Gustavus embittered the last hours of his mother's life, and hurried her by shame and grief to her tomb.

† The focus of the conspiracy was the *king's palace;* and probably it was one of his instruments whose pen thus attempts to degrade the fame of Louisa Ulrica.

‡ This report was neither more nor less than a plain statement of the adulterous connexion, which was supposed to subsist between her majesty and Count Muncke!

tised with all possible pomp and ceremony, in the royal chapel of the great palace of Stockholm, by the archbishop of Upsala; and in the presence of a deputation from the four states of Sweden, who appeared as sponsors; by whom he was named Gustavus Adolphus.

losing all patience, went *directly* to the king,* and told him she had long been a sufferer in Sweden from the queen dowager's *ill humour* and *persecution*, and had *never* made any complaint, but when *her honor*† was attacked she could bear it no longer; that it was his majesty's duty, as a king and a husband, to protect her from such a treatment; and the satisfaction that she required was, that the queen dowager should either disown that *injurious slander*, or *name* the person from whom she had her information.‡ The king was *very unwilling* to enter upon *such an explication* with his mother,§ but as she *could not refuse* that justice to his spouse, he made a visit to the queen dowager on that account, and ordered

* A very proper line of conduct! The king had been her seducer; he was no more her husband; he led an abler one to her arms: he wished her to be pregnant, and she was so. Her character was singed, and he that caused it to be put in jeopardy was bound to defend it: a task that was neither very light nor pleasant.

† These expressions indicate, whatever the feelings of the queen dowager might be respecting the reigning queen, that up to this period her *virtue* had not been questioned.

‡ The motive by which the *royal confederates* were animated to effect this discovery, was of the most powerful nature. If the conspiracy had been discovered, and its ramifications laid open to the world, every party implicated would have been overwhelmed with infamy and ruin; the throne would have been shaken, and the fame of the king for ever blasted.

§ There is no reason to doubt the truth of *this* assertion.

The public feeling, on the birth of this prince, was manifest in the almost endless variety of ways by which this event was celebrated. The secret agents of the king, were, however, so very active in devising means of giving it *eclat*, that it is difsome of the senators to be present.* He told his mother plainly what was the matter, and asked her if she had really been capable of such injurious discourse respecting her daughter-in-law? The queen dowager owned she could not deny that she had dropped some words on that subject, *but only within her own family*,† and she thought a mother might speak in confidence to her children, without fear of its being reported and *misconstrued* into a calumny. The king then asked who had made such a report to her? She answered, that though she had been betrayed herself, it was too much below her dignity and principles to betray others; but, for her own part, she would make all the reparation that could be required from a queen and a mother; and therefore assured him *that she never believed the reports*,‡ that she had only mentioned them by way of jest,§ and that with persons from whom she could have no apprehension of its being divulged. The king *could not urge* any further satisfaction, and a good intelligence seemed to be fully restored, until the birth of the prince, afterwards Gustavus|| the Fourth.

* The *senators* whom the king selected were his abject creatures; nor would he have taken them, had not the rumours that were already afloat cast reflections on the *legitimacy* of the child of which the queen was then pregnant.

† The queen dowager mentioned her suspicions to her youngest son, and to the princess Albertina, her daughter.

‡ Totally false!

§ False and malicious.

|| Mr. Ristel contradicts himself! That author says this second rupture took place on the birth-day of the princess royal (see p. 60):

ficult to distinguish between that which was the result of affection, and of secret influence.

This birth, that was considered so auspicious for Sweden, proved the source of a dreadful catastrophe in Stockholm, whereby a hundred persons miserably perished. A sad prelude to the

Adolphus, when an unhappy mistake occasioned a new rupture, which lasted during the queen dowager's whole life.

" I call it a *mistake*, because I have been assured by a person *who knew all the secrets** of the queen dowager, that on this occasion she was really misunderstood. It was so far from her intention to disturb the universal joy on that happy occasion, that she had prepared a rich present for her grandson ;† she had Marshal Piper and his lady with her very late that night; and on the *joyful occasion* they had emptied *several bottles of champaign* together ;‡

perhaps he meant the birth-day of the prince royal, afterwards Gustavus the Fourth, Adolphus.

* The queen dowager was not a likely person to intrust *all her secrets* to any *one* person. Mr. Ristel had recourse to this base assertion to obtain credence for the scandalous stories he was about publishing respecting the queen dowager's getting tipsey!

† An unqualified falsehood.

‡ Whether true or false, this paragraph is equally disgraceful to Mr. Ristel; but there is every reason to believe it was alike false and malignant. The author makes it out that the queen dowager and her guests got *famously drunk* with champaign, and being " *overtaken by sleep*, they *retired to bed*." Did he mean that they *all three* went to one bed? And *how* did they get there after *sleep had* overtaken them? Does he mean that they were carried away drunk to their beds?

If my readers please to refer to the LETTERS *of the* SWEDISH COURT, pp. 204 and 205, they will perceive that the *transcriber*

greater calamities he was destined by his future reign to entail on his country. Exclusive of brilliant illuminations, and fountains of wine, the king had triumphal cars constructed, in imitation of those of ancient Rome, to parade the principal streets of Stockholm, in which were placed young

but being at last overtaken by sleep, they had retired to bed; and the queen dowager was *slumbering*, when a letter was brought from the king,* in which he notified the *birth of his son*, and expressed his wishes '*that his mother might not fail* partaking of his joy.' The queen, *half sleeping*, wrote an answer, in which she *congratulated* the king on the birth of his son;† but taking his wish for a kind of doubt, she could not help adding—'*that if a veil yet* covered his eyes, *she hoped he would once better know her sentiments towards him.*'‡ Several persons surrounded the king when he opened the letter,‖ and these last words having been *misunderstood*, or perhaps

has softened down the coarseness and improbability of Mr. Ristel's *several bottles*, and limited the number to *two or three*. This is the most atrocious calumny from Mr. Ristel's pen.

* This letter contained an ambiguous sort of request:—"Whatever may be your majesty's feelings," said the king, "out of regard to mine, I hope you will not fail to join your congratulations to those of every other branch of my family."

† The preceding note explains the rest of that sentence.

‡ The queen, in her reply, is stated to have expressed her surprise at his majesty's request; that she thought he had obtained more *lenity* than he merited; and although a veil might for a time cover the transaction, yet, sooner or later, *it would be removed.*

‖ What a picture is here given of this celebrated monarch; it certainly must be a *caricature*, and not a faithful delineation of his manners and style of living with his courtiers.

and beautiful females, dressed *en costume*, as goddesses of plenty; whose fair hands scattered as they passed, money and sweetmeats amongst the delighted multitude. There was also a large building erected, that was amply supplied with provisions of a substantial kind, with liquors,

misrepresented by some secret enemy of the royal family, *caused a universal consternation.**

" Those who had seen the letter thought it yet *worse* than *any misconstruction* could make it;† and every one being eager to show his zeal upon the occasion, the queen dowager was talked of *with horror;*‡ insomuch that the king was induced to send her a message (stating) that his *anxiousness for her safety* obliged him to give her notice *that he could not answer for the effects of his people's resentment*, if she should venture to appear in public.§ The queen dowager so little thought of having done any harm, that she had ordered her coach to be in readiness, and was already on the way to the royal palace, when she received the king's message.|| She at first was at a loss

* What is there in the silly and unmeaning passages marked in italics by Mr. Ristel, that even amongst *painted and scented courtiers*, could have excited such sensations? It is evident from Mr. Ristel's own language, he had not told the truth.

† These expressions confirm the justice of the preceding observations.

‡ Because she had used such expressions as Mr. Ristel has given us! absurd and improbable!

§ From the period that Gustavus the Third abandoned himself to such disgraceful proceedings, the queen dowager totally abstained from her son's court; and this is the mode in which Mr. Ristel thought proper to account for the future seclusion of that illustrious woman.

|| Can it be believed, instead of the king assuring his mother that he would provide for her protection, he really sent her such a mes-

and bands of music. Such was the rush made by infatuated rabble to obtain a share of those tempting viands, that the guards proved unable to keep them off. There were, most improperly, some *small steps* left at the entrance; which caused several persons to stumble, who immediately dis-

how to understand such a warning; but matters having been explained to her, she had too much pride to condescend to a justification,* and therefore returned to her *dwelling-house*, and never after saw the king or her grandson till a few days before her death.

"The young queen soon recovered, and appeared in public amidst the most joyful acclamations of the people.† *Adored* by her subjects, she consoled herself for being hated by her mother-in-law.

"Two years after, she had another son, who seemed very strong and healthy, but died in cutting his teeth.‡ The death of this prince put the physicians in perfect *discredit* with the king, and he has never since suffered any of the faculty about his person. He had been present at their consultations, and found that what they agreed on when together, *each* of them condemned§ when separately

sage? The assertion is totally false that the queen dowager was upon the road to Stockholm, travelling to court to congratulate her son upon the birth of a prince; nor is it likely that her life was in danger: and it is no less improbable that the king sent any such coarse message to her.

* Altogether a fiction.

† Persons were employed by the police for this purpose.

‡ This child was also Count Munck's.

§ This is rather more humorous than credible. Could Mr. Ristel expect his readers to believe that the physician who *actually* proposed the specific prescription in a consultation, afterwards found fault to the king with his own remedy?

appeared, and never rose again. They were not only trampled to death, but almost to pieces. Yet, such was the rage to obtain admission, that the dead and dying were passed over, and the crowd within continued their feasting, revelry, and dancing, till six o'clock the next morning.

consulted, and proposed his own method. He is now (1789) attended by two surgeons, one of whom had the good luck to be at hand when the king broke his arm, as he was going to meet the empress of Russia at Frederickshamn, and has ever since been in credit. The university of Upsal has, by way of courtesy, decorated both those gentlemen with the title of Doctor of Physic, though neither of them were bred up to that science.*

"The queen of Sweden is fond of magnificence in her apparel, and has spent much money in jewels; but she otherwise observes a *very strict economy;* and except what she gives yearly to the poor, and *pensions* paid to a couple of ladies who make her daily company, there are few persons who ever had *any proof of her generosity.* Those two ladies had formerly been her maids of honor, and since their marriage have continued their attendance and preserved the favor of the queen *by telling her the news of the day*, and *complimenting* her on her *beauty*, *elegant* shape, *exquisite* taste in dressing, &c.; thus women of the highest rank, and possessing the *most eminent* qualities, are equally subject as others to the *passions* of their sex."†

* Mr. Ristel has, in many instances, indulged his vein for satire at the expense of his veracity: perhaps he did so in this instance.

† Mr. Ristel ends his adulatory and false narration of the wondrous virtues and endowments of this queen, by describing her as a woman without any power of mind, or delicacy of sentiment!

At first the minister of police, rather than damp the public *joy*, thought proper to conceal the calamity as far as he could; but the number of those who fell, and the fury of the mob, became so great, he was forced to send for more soldiers; and it was not without the use of violence, and very imminent danger of causing an insurrection, that the crowd was ultimately dispersed.

The next morning the temple of pleasure was converted into the house of mourning. As the parents, brothers, children, or friends sought for and found their relatives amongst the dead, heart piercing shrieks, and doleful lamentations succeeded the shouts of temporary madness and intoxication. And as the mangled bodies of the dead were carried off, the air resounded with the melancholy cries of the living. The king, in whose culpable eagerness to give *eclat* to the birth of the young Gustavus the calamity originated; appeared, and probably was, greatly grieved at this deplorable accident. He severely reprimanded the governor of Stockholm, for not having adopted precautions to prevent such an occurrence. The governor, who had reluctantly obeyed the order that commanded him to prepare this feast for a drunken populace, said in reply,—"Sire, it is the first time I ever had the honor of entertaining a mob. I had no idea of any such calamity. On a future occasion, I shall know better what precautions to adopt."

A free gift of six hundred thousand dollars, was granted by the diet to the king, payable in

seven years; of which three hundred thousand were allotted for the better support of the regal dignity, and the increase of the king's private revenue. One hundred thousand dollars were to be divided in equal shares; one moiety to be given to the Duke of Sodermanland, the other to be applied in defraying the expense of baptising the young crown prince; a hundred thousand dollars were to be presented to the queen as a free gift; and one hundred thousand dollars as a dowry for the Duchess of Sodermanland. The king, on the 25th of January 1779, closed the diet with a speech, alike eloquent and impressive, in which he boasted of being the only king, during that century, who could dissolve the free states without having exercised or suffered oppression! He arrogated the august title of founder and defender of the laws and liberty of his country; thanked the diet for their personal attachment to himself, his queen, and *his son*; "whom," said the graceful orator, "I hope to live to see worthy the illustrious name he bears."

The thinking part of the Swedes, were not deceived by the specious illusions that teemed in the flowery speeches of their king. This diet was considered as being no less influenced by the crown, than former diets had been by the oligarchy. *The king*, as well as *the crown*, was involved in debt; and without further grants it was scarcely possible Gustavus could have long continued his splendid career. The pregnancy of

the queen, and her giving birth to a son, were contingencies alike advantageous in a pecuniary, as well as a political point of view.

The deputies from the peasantry returned to their homes, fraught with angry feelings towards the king, from whom they could not procure the revocation of the prohibition of private stills; and soon afterwards were heard murmurs, loud and deep, prevailing amongst the agriculturists, in all quarters of the kingdom. In Smaland and Dalcarlia, the indignation of the populace was not confined to complaints and reproaches alone, but burst forth in acts of resistance to the king's authority. Nor was the personal character of the king spared: he was held up as a monster of dissimulation; as a being, tainted by propensities of the most abhorrent kind: and doubts were expressed as to the legitimacy of the child then recently born. The printer of a pasquinade, affecting the king's character, was condemned to confinement on bread and water. The senate, which was filled by the creatures of Gustavus, thought proper, in their overflow of loyalty, to change the sentence to that of *death!* The king had the credit of pardoning the offender: the servile senators incurred the odium of meditating a judicial murder, to shew their devotion to the crown! Gustavus took care to *degrade* that heretofore great and formidable body, previous to effecting their entire abolition.

The war in which Great Britain was plunged

with her American colonies, was followed by the secret or open hostility of all Europe. The merchants of Sweden, in common with those of Holland and Denmark, derived immense advantages from supplying the revolted colonists with contraband warlike stores. Their ships thus employed were captured by British cruizers. The Swedish merchants complained of those captures to their government, terming them acts of piracy, and asking for convoys to protect their trade. The right of search, of the seizure of contraband cargoes, and of blockade, were denied by a host of powerful writers, whom this great question produced in every maritime state, and particularly in Holland and Sweden. Influenced no less by personal feelings than political considerations, the king eagerly caught at this bias of the public feeling to restore his waning popularity, and became the soul as it were of an armed neutrality of the north, and advocate for *the liberty of the seas!* Catherine encouraged Sweden and Denmark to proceed to extremities; secretly pleased to see those naval states brave the power of the British navy. If their extraordinary league had led to a naval campaign in the Baltic, there is scarcely room to doubt, but she would have screened her own fleets, and left those of Sweden and Denmark to have met that destruction that would certainly have ensued: by means of which, at no very distant day, she hoped to acquire the undivided sovereignty of the Baltic.

The treaty of alliance between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, was signed on the 9th of June 1780. According to the letter of the treaty, Russia was to fit out twenty sail of the line; Sweden and Denmark each sixteen. The emperor of Germany, the kings of Prussia and Naples, the republic of Holland, afterwards acceded to the principle professed by this treaty, which went to establish the freedom of the seas, to abrogate the right of search, and to declare the ship and flag should protect the cargo. These doctrines, if carried into practice, would soon have undermined and annihilated the naval power of Great Britain. The way in which this formidable confederacy broke up is explained in a preceding chapter. It promised every thing; and performed none of its promises.

Gustavus the Third being desirous of visiting Aix la Chapelle and Spa, spent part of the summer of 1781 in foreign travels; returning to Sweden through Holland, in the autumn of that year. In 1782, his queen proved pregnant. The birth of the first child put a final end to all amicable intercourse between Sophia Magdalena, and Louisa Ulrica. Those common-place feuds, from which few families are wholly exempt, are unfit subjects for the historic pen; but this was of a deeper kind. There exists unquestionable evidence, to prove that that great and virtuous woman never recognised Gustavus Adolphus as her grandson, nor ever felt or expressed any affection towards him. She

certainly suspected the queen; the effects of which fell heavily on her future peace, and banished her from that court over which, for so many years she had presided with matchless dignity and taste.*

* Sir John Carr, gives the following anecdote of this great woman, which he probably found in the pages of Mr. Ristel's entertaining work, viz.

"This prince" (Gustavus the Third) "derived what hereditary talent he possessed from his mother Ulrica, who, by a capacious and highly cultivated mind, proved that she was worthy of being the sister of Frederick the Great. Her marriage with Adolphus Frederick was the fruit of her own unassisted address, which, as it has some *novelty*, I shall relate. The court and senate of Sweden sent an ambassador *incognito* to Berlin, to watch and report upon the character and dispositions of Frederick's two unmarried daughters, Ulrica and Amelia, the former of whom had the reputation of being very haughty, crafty, satirical, and malicious; and the Swedish court had already pretty nearly determined in favor of Amelia, who was remarkable for the *attraction* of her person, and the *sweetness* of her mind. The mission of the ambassador was soon buzzed *abroad*," (yet he was *incognito!*) "and Amelia was overwhelmed with misery on account of her insuperable objection to renounce the tenets of Calvin for those of Luther: in this state of wretchedness, she implored the assistance of her sister's counsels to prevent an union so repugnant to her happiness. The wary Ulrica advised her to assume the most *insolent* and *repulsive deportment* to every one in the presence of the Swedish ambassador; which advice she followed, whilst Ulrica put on all those amiable qualities, which her sister had provisionally laid aside. Every one ignorant of the cause *was* astonished at the change. The

Her absence left her character open to foreign and domestic misrepresentations: * and many strangers of rank and importance, whose respect she merited and would have enjoyed, if their minds had not been improperly prejudiced against her, quitted Sweden with very unfavorable impressions, which soon became current in their respective countries.

ambassador informed his court, that fame had completely mistaken the two sisters, and had actually reversed their reciprocal good or bad qualities. Ulrica was ultimately preferred, and *mounted* the throne of Sweden, to the no little mortification of Amelia, who, *too late*, discovered the stratagem of her sister and adviser."—Vide *Northern Summer*, pp. 123, 124.

This quotation is made to show its malice rather than its wit. In the first place, the thing appears absurd and improbable: in the second, if Amelia's objections were really scruples of conscience, how came she to repine? As to its *novelty*, this tale had been before the world ere Sir John Carr was born! It was also related by the Mr. RISTEL, so frequently quoted, who was a wilful traducer of Louisa Ulrica. Lastly: although it cannot be expected that so rapid a tourist should fill a quarto with original matter, he might avoid disgrace, by owning the authorities whence his quotations were derived.

* Deceived and misled by the suavity and polish of the king's manners, and flattered by those little attentions so gratifying to the mind of a scholar and a gentleman, Mr. Coxe gave the following character of Louisa Ulrica; *i. e.* "The queen dowager, to whom we were presented at her" (town) "palace of Frederickshof, is Louisa Ulrica, sister to Frederick the second, king of Prussia; a princess who resembled her brother, as well in countenance, as in those eminent abilities which characterise the house of Brandenburgh. An unfortunate misunderstanding had, for some time, taken place between her and her son, the king of Sweden. It was chiefly occasioned

Accompanied by her grateful and affectionate daughter, Sophia Albertina, she retired to the palace of Swartsjö. The shock her feelings sustained from the depravity of Gustavus, and the disgusting extremes to which his vices led him, shortened a life that might otherwise have been prolonged several years; and the intelligence of the queen's second pregnancy filling her indignant bosom with new sorrows, she died* a few

by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accustomed *to rule the cabinet with absolute authority* in the reign of her husband, expected to retain the same influence over her son. But the monarch who had emancipated himself from the shackles of an aristocracy, had too much spirit to be governed by a woman; and the disappointment of her views drew from her frequent remonstrances, which, *joined to circumstances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned*, terminated at length in an open rupture." Vide Coxe's Travels, vol. 4. pp. 39 and 40.—This DELICATE AFFAIR, was no other than her disbelief in the legitimacy of the young prince!—which circumstance, and not the *ambition* of Louisa Ulrica, was the cause of the rupture alluded to.

* Many precious monuments of her science, taste, and magnificence, remained at Drottningholm in 1808. The library, and the museums it contained, had the latter not been removed by Gustavus the fourth, Adolphus, would alone have proclaimed the greatness of her mind. Amongst the most interesting of the books, are the works of Voltaire, in nine volumes, published at Dresden in 1748, and presented by the author to Louisa Ulrica. These volumes are enriched with very numerous notes, in the hand-writing of the author, containing a large fund of curious inteligence not to be found elsewhere. In the library was a marble bust of Louisa Ulrica, large as life, wrought by the matchless hand of Sergel; and many portraits taken at different periods of her life.

weeks previous to the birth of the second child of Sophia Magdalena.

Those restless, high-spirited, yet rude and prejudiced people, the Dalecarlians, bore with sullen reluctance the prohibition of distilling brandy. In 1783, they broke out in acts of violence: a body of soldiers suppressed the riot, and seized the principal ring-leaders: yet, though menaced with a general revolt, for the sake of the revenue afforded by this odious and unpopular monopoly, Gustavus still persevered in its enactment.

The naval and military power of Sweden was not yet sufficiently matured, or he would, no doubt, have availed himself of the intention of Catherine to employ her armies against the Turks, to have made a dash at Petersburg. Catherine was, however, very suspicious of Gustavus. It was

Her father was Frederick William the *first* king of Prussia; her mother, Sophia Charlotte, was the daughter of the lovely and unfortunate Sophia Dorothea, the wife of the electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George the First, and sister to George the second: she was married to Adolf Frederick, the crown prince of Sweden, afterwards king, 18th of August 1744; crowned the 26th of November 1751; and died, in the 62nd year of her age, on the 16th July 1782.

Louisa Ulrica, "lived beloved, and died lamented." The Swedes are almost a nation of poets. The elegies written on account of her death were greater in number, and superior in quality, to what had been known on any former death of a Swedish queen. The beautiful ode written by the elegant poet ADLERCRANTZ, gained the gold medal given by the royal academy; and certainly it well deserved the distinction.

essential she should, if possible, be well assured of his designs, whose fleet and army were really formidable, if united in an attack on a single point of an extended frontier. She knew the king was venal; and might be subsidised by the Porte, or the court of Versailles. She therefore proposed an interview to take place at Frederickshamn. The king acceded to her request. In the beginning of June, he set out for Finland. At a review of his troops, his charger startled, threw the king, and broke his arm. Though unavoidably retarded by this accident, he was able to meet the empress on the 29th. With a view to astonish and gratify Gustavus, with whose fondness of splendor she was well acquainted, Catherine caused a temporary palace to be prepared in Petersburg, the frame and furniture of which were transported by water. The apartments were numerous, most elegantly designed, and magnificently furnished : and so secretly and expeditiously was it set up, that Gustavus had not, or pretended not to have had, any intimation of what was intended, till he was ushered into a magnificent saloon by Catherine in person. During the three days that those extraordinary personages remained at Frederickshamn, their time was diverted by French plays, and by a constant succession of the most brilliant and costly festivities. It was asserted at the time, that Catherine gave Gustavus, as a personal present, or rather *as a bribe*, a million of dollars; and pledged her imperial

word not to foment internal troubles in Sweden or Finland, if he would abstain from all hostility, open or covert, against her interests. Never, perhaps, did a couple of monarchs meet, whose mutual hatred was more inveterate: but the empress found it convenient to appear as if she had forgotten that Gustavus had called her a —— and an adultress; and the polite Gustavus, forgiving the odious epithet of a ——, and appearing to forget the "*amateur actor*," and "*little king*," paid Catherine the most flattering and profound homage! Never did a pair of greater dissemblers meet; and never was the parting of the dearest friends marked by stronger exterior signs of mutual affection and esteem! The interview answered the purpose of the empress and the king. Gustavus recruited his private exchequer; and Catherine, secured from attack on the side of Sweden, was left at liberty to pursue her ambitious designs against the Ottoman empire. The burgers of Stockholm, who were attached to the king by the splendor that consumed their property, paid him a flattering compliment on his return, by a grant of £1000, for the support of some additional beds in the royal hospital, called the *Loulais*,* where patients with fractured or broken arms were to be received.

Various motives have been assigned for the king's journey into Italy, none of which were

* The camp in Finland, where the accident happened, was so called.

perhaps correct, and some were of too infamous a nature to be recited. Although he was not generous, his profusion was boundless when his passion for the magnificent was to be gratified; and the specie drained from Sweden, and left in the countries he visited, was severely felt in the course of exchange on his kingdom. In Stockholm, Gustavus was a rigid Lutheran. At Rome, he attended high mass; and his devotion induced the commonalty to believe he was in his heart a *staunch Catholic!* Amongst his favorite courtiers he laughed at Lutherans and Catholics. During this tour on classic ground, Gustavus purchased, and transported to Sweden, some of the finest specimens extant of Grecian sculpture.* Amongst the many ancient statues, that of Endymion, as large as life, in a recumbent posture, is the most exquisitely beautiful. It is one of the *chef d'œuvres* of the Grecian school, in the meridian of its fame. Gustavus paid two thousand ducats for this fine relic of the matchless genius of the great Grecian sculptor.† These costly purchases were made to furnish a chaste and select gallery of antiques, with which he intended to embellish the stupendous

* Sir John Carr asserts, that when he was in Sweden (1804), five hundred pieces of painting and statuary had arrived at Stockholm from Italy, that had been purchased by Gustavus the Third.

† The author was assured in Stockholm, by two professors of the Swedish academy of painting and sculpture (Templeman and Piper), that Buonaparte offered Gustavus the Fourth, 300,000 livres for this statue alone.

palace that he had already designed, modelled, and intended to erect in the park at Lille Haga.

So fine was his taste, ere he set out on this tour, and so highly polished were his manners, he was more likely to serve as a model to others, than to copy from them. Nor was there any fear that his morals should suffer; for there was scarcely a vice practised by the great in southern climes of which he was guiltless. Gustavus passed the winter of 1783, and the ensuing spring, in Italy.* He visited Pisa (where he used the baths); Rome,† Naples, Florence, Genoa,

* The massive portico and vast fluted columns at the mint, were copied from a temple discovered at Pestum in Calabria. The Museum in the great palace, in 1808, contained a magnificent collection of marbles, far surpassing any thing of the kind in this kingdom: of which no adequate description has yet been given by any English traveller. Sir Robert Ker Porter was the gentleman from whose pen it might have been expected.

† In the Opera-house is an immense and good historical painting, probably by Desprez, representing a procession in Rome, wherein the reigning Pope and Gustavus the Third, form the principal figures. There was also preserved the *Diploma* whereby Gustavus the Third, during his stay at Rome, became a member of the academy of sciences; and also a book, printed in *fifty-six languages*, at Rome, by the society *propaganda fide*.

The magnificent library at Drottningholm, has the following verses inscribed over the entrance to the room appropriated to Italian subjects; namely,

"Om Rom har kungar sett ur Nordens kalla rike,
Som gjutit forssar blod, som krossar all dess magt,
Det ser ur samma land i dag, Augusti like
Ge vittra konster lif, och snillen eld och mod."

and Venice. The luxury, refinement, polished manners, and elevation of mind, that distinguished this modern king of the Goths and Vandals, at first astonished and delighted the Italians. They saw, however, nothing in him to love or revere. Mere admiration soon dwindled into indifference: a certain *halo* surrounded and tainted his name. The king became the subject of severe pasquinades.* On public occasions his magnificence eclipsed all competitors. In his private life, that economy which he practised to husband his resources for grand displays of pageantry, degenerated into meanness. Kings are rare customers: Gustavus found that one mode of shewing their *exalted* ideas of his riches and magnificence, was by charging him most exorbitantly. This justly offended him, and gave rise to almost perpetual bickerings during his extensive tour.† Gustavus received

Free Translation.

"From the cold regions of the north, if Rome has seen kings who shed the blood of her princes, and destroyed her power; to-day she beholds, from the same land, an AUGUSTUS,* that gives animation to genius, and energy and courage to the votaries of the fine arts."

It was reported in Sweden that these lines were originally written in Italian by CANOVA, the bosom friend and fellow student of the great Swedish sculptor SERGEL.

* One of these ran, in Italian, thus:

"Il il Conte di Haga,
Il chi molti vedi e pola paga:"—meaning,
That the Count of Haga would see every thing and pay nothing.

† The following extracts from the journal of a person

* Gustavus the Third.

presents of rare and valuable articles from most of the Italian courts. In return, he invested several persons with orders of knighthood that cost him little. In the beginning of June 1784, he arrived at Paris; where he was received with

in the suite of Gustavus the Third, during his Italian tour, were published to retort on Mr. Acerbi his complaints of Swedish inns, and Swedish travelling.

The work whence this extract was taken, entitled "*Briegen uber Schweden*," appeared to have been published in German, at Gripswalde, in 1804, and written by *Frederick Ruhs*. It was, however, generally believed by the *literati* in Stockholm, that Sir C. J. Leopold, who was called, from his peculiar fine vein of wit, the *Voltaire* of Sweden, was the writer; and by whom, in 1808, the offices of private secretary and librarian to Gustavus the Fourth, were filled. But that which induces the author to insert the extract here, is the assertion of an eminent member of the Swedish academies, who assured him, in 1808, that the extracts were written by Gustavus in his private journal.

"Between Helsingborg and Stockholm, a distance of "near 400 miles, *nothing* that can be considered as an inn "is to be met with: whereas, there is no *part of Italy*, where, "in the same space, you would not come to *fifty towns*, in "*neatness, and elegance, and every comfort of life, equal if* "*not superior to the capital of Sweden*. That in Italy, the "south perhaps excepted, it is impossible to travel twenty "miles without meeting with an inn; whilst there is not so "much as ONE *to be found* in Stockholm itself: that a *small* "*village* in Italy is *better provided* with all the necessaries "and conveniencies of life, than the most eminent provincial "towns in Sweden." Vide Acerbi, Vol. I. p. 6.

all possible *eclat*. But nothing diverted this sagacious king from attending to matters of real business. The court of Versailles having neglected paying the stipulated subsidies, Gustavus managed matters so well that he obtained payment, and also the cession of the small West India island called St. Bartholomew, near Guadaloupe.

"*Can* Mr. Acerbi believe what he writes? Does he not perceive that fifty such cities as Stockholm, in a space of a little more than fifty Swedish miles,* in whatever age they were built, must inevitably consume all the produce of the land, and could not be subsisted. Does he believe that there is not a single soul alive in England, Sweden, or Germany, that has travelled in Italy? As he has taken the liberty to fabricate his journal in Sweden according to his own pleasure, he will allow a Swedish traveller the same indulgence to represent in its *true* colours the situation of his much boasted country, particularly so far as respects the stations (post-houses) inns, and especially the many famous cities, that for elegance, beauty, and every convenience of life, are equal if not superior to the very capital of Sweden!—See, here is a little extract from such a traveller's journal, for the accuracy of which I will be responsible. You will find, Sir, that the principal personage who made this tour, had more powerful claims to a distinguished reception in Italy than Mr. Acerbi could have in Sweden. This traveller was the COUNT of HAGA (Gustavus the Third). It is a distinguished person belonging to his avant attendants who is the narrator."—

"At *St. Benedetto*, between Mantua and Modena,

* A mile Swedish, is rather more than six and a half English.

Having been entertained by the French court with every mark of personal respect, and treated with a constant succession of costly festivities and magnificent spectacles, Gustavus took his leave of the Bourbon princes, and arrived at Stockholm (after an absence of ten months) on the 3d of

there were no horses, although they had been previously ordered. We were therefore compelled to substitute *oxen*, and to put four pair to our carriages. The drivers walked by their side, and drove by their voice and a long stick (or goad), but *without reins*. The train marched so slow, that in *three hours* we made no more way than about six English miles. At *Nuovi*, the next post-house to St. Benedetto, a new source of delay arose from the want of horses. They arrived late at night; and by all sorts of pretences we were delayed till the next morning. Our former postillions were very ready to drive us, but they demanded four zechins (two pounds sterling) for a station of about ten English miles. The apartments in the inn were so bad that we found the coach preferable. A wretched, abominable, half-baked, dry wheaten loaf, a piece of cheese, and some eggs, were all we could get to eat. In *Carpi*, an episcopal city through which we passed, we breakfasted at the inn, and procured some bread, cheese, and a bottle of *sour* wine, which was too bad to drink: this sorry breakfast for three persons, cost a ducat (about ten shillings English).

"The theatrical representation at Modena, was the rape of the Sabines, and so very inferior I could not endure it longer than during two scenes.

"Between Modena and Bologna, we passed the Panaro: the ferry boat not being there, we were compelled

August 1784. Although his popularity had long been on the wane, the citizens of Stockholm, to compliment the king, commemorated his return from Italy,* by an inscription over the new bridge at Riddarholm, informing posterity, that they rebuilt a bridge of stone, in lieu of a former structure of wood.

to wade through the shallow stream; but the *passage money* was demanded just the same, and was paid as usual. This also happened in several other places.

" On the 22d December we stopped at an inn at Torrenieri, not far from Sienna. The passage or entrance to our room was so situated that we had to pass through the *stables*, a circumstance by no means uncommon in the public houses of this country. Our supper consisted of a soup not eatable, and chickens dressed in three different ways, namely, boiled, a la dàube, and roasted.

" At *Aquapedente*, a town iu the ecclesiastical states, where through the want of horses we were obliged to wait *several hours*, they charged two sequins and a half (four or five and twenty shillings) for a few eggs, some slices of a Bologna sausage, and half a chicken.

* " Gustavo III. O. R. salvo et sospite.
Ex itinere Italico patriæ reddito.
Hunc pontem secto lapide constructum,
Lignei loco jam vetustate collabentis. Fortunæ reduci et lætitiæ publicæ, decicarunt
Cives Holmenses.—D. iii. Aug. M,DCC,LXXXIV."

The expense of this tour was 50,000*l.*; but this extended to the travelling charges only. The king probably expended three times that sum; two thirds of which was applied to the purchase of works of art with which to embellish his residence.

During the three last years, Sweden had been afflicted by bad harvests, in consequence of which many persons perished of famine in their huts, and by the highway sides. This awful visitation did not induce the king in the least to abate his rage for splendid spectacles. His court was still the

" At *Monte Rossia*, the public room of the inn, had no door, the kitchen smoked to such a degree it was insupportable; and the other rooms not having glass or sash, were shut up with blinds, a custom very prevalent throughout the country. A wheel of the carriage being broke, we were forced to replace it with another, for which, though it was *a very old one*, we were made to pay six sequins into the bargain.

" The city of Velletri, in the ecclesiastical states, is tolerably large, but lonely and depopulated. The inn at which we lodged on the 29th of January, was most execrable: and as soon as a fire was lighted, was filled with smoke. Such was the night passed by Horace, when he made his tour into Campania. Sat. i. 5.

" Puzzuoli (the ancient Puteoli), near Naples, is a city whose inhabitants amount to some thousands, but it is ill built, small, and dirty. The walls at a distance appear as if the edifices had been destroyed by fire: an aspect which it has in common with most of the Italian small towns, which is produced by the flat roofs of the houses, and the open apertures which supply the place of windows.

" Here, as in the generality of places in Italy, the extent of wretchedness and misery is denoted by the vast numbers of beggars.

" Not far from the well known ruins of Pestum, the Possidonium of the ancients, is *Eboli*, an inconsiderable

gay theatre where the utmost pomp was displayed, whilst the poor peasants, whose toil helped to supply the means of supporting his guilty splendor, were suffering, with their wretched families, the most terrible extremes of famine. When a starving popualation sent up from

Neapolitan city: a vile place. Here we were ordered to retain rooms for one night for the Count of Haga. This however, was no easy matter: the inn could only afford two beds; we considered the Franciscan convent to be the more eligible habitation; but the cells were too small, and the mattresses too hard to be slept on. In this exigency, two burghers made us an offer of their habitation. The window places were without sash, casement, or glass; but blinds were substituted in their stead, and the rooms were filled with filth and cobwebs. The naked walls of stone were besmeared with dirt and nastiness; nor could we procure any candles for love or money. Necessity compelling us, we accepted the proposal, and the Count of Haga was perfectly satisfied with our arrangement.*

"Even in the largest Italian cities, dirt and filthiness of every kind are exceedingly common, and exhibit the most disgusting appearances. At Rome itself, the noblest monuments of her ancient splendor are surrounded by *Cloacina's* recesses. The royal palace at Naples presented a similar spectacle: the roast chesnuts in the public streets, with fetid oil, occasioning a most nauseous odour.

"Instead of having markets neat and clean as ours in Sweden, for the sale of their meat, or especially fish, you

* "Mr. Acerbi is somewhat more difficult to please."

parishes or provinces petitions for relief, nothing could be more kind than his carriage, nothing more bland than his language. He overflowed with the most exalted *feeling*, whilst his heart was cold, and void of compassion. Gustavus, like the celebrated Sterne,* appeared to be so full of *sentiment* that there was no room for charity.

A wish to induce the *states* to extend aid to the suffering provinces, and of introducing the crown prince† to his sponsors, were the reasons assigned by Gustavus, after an interval of *eight*

find the latter article of nourishment indiscriminately dispersed throughout all their public places; and the smell of this raw fish is extremely offensive. Instead of slaughter-houses for cattle, well regulated like those in Stockholm, you *there* see the meat suspended every where in stalls, and the blood of cattle flowing down the kennels.—

"Well! does Mr. Acerbi's Italian pride find itself flattered by this accurate description of his country? *Can* any one travel so *very* comfortably in *his* native land? And these unparallelled cities, found at the end of every Swedish mile, and which the boaster says are handsomer, more *superb*, and possess *all the enjoyments* of life *far* more abundantly than even the *capital* of Sweden,—*in what planet do they exist?* Should not one of them for instance, be *Renciglione*, in the ecclesiastical states?"—*Briefen über Schweden, by Frederick Rühs* pp. 41 to 48

* Vide Walpoliana.

† The reverend Mr. Coxe was presented on the 8th of March,

years, for convening a diet. But Mr. Ristel insinuated that the real motive was to thwart some favorite measure of Catherine the Second; and it *prevented* the intended coronation at Cherson.* Gustavus wished to be thought *inscrutable* in his ways; and established for himself such a cha-

1784, to this prince. His account is as follows, viz. "In the afternoon we were presented to the prince royal, who, though scarcely six years old," (the child was only *five* years and *five* months!) "went through the forms of a drawing-room with wonderful ease and address for so young a person."—Vide Vol. IV. p. 68.

* The year 1787 opened with the extraordinary spectacle of the journey of the empress of Russia from Petersburg to Cherson, where it seems to have been her original intention to have been crowned with all possible magnificence, and under the splendid titles of empress of the east, liberator of Greece, and restorer of the series of Roman emperors, who formerly swayed the sceptre over that division of the globe.—

"The splendor of the route of the czarina surpasses whatever the imagination would spontaneously suggest. She was escorted by an army. Pioneers preceded her march, whose business was to render the road as even and pleasant as it could possibly be made. At the end of each day's journey, she found a temporary palace erected for her reception, together with all the accommodations and luxuries that Petersburg could have afforded. In the number of her followers were the ambassadors of London, Versailles, and Vienna; and her own ambassador, as well as the envoy of the emperor to the court of Constantinople, were appointed to meet her at Cherson. She had directed the former, M. de Bulhakow, to sound in a distant manner the Ottoman Porte, respecting the sending an officer to compliment her on her arrival, and thus to witness and sanction as it were, the degradation of the Turks; but the proposal

racter for dissimulation, that neither friend nor foe placed the least reliance on his word. Gifted with such matchless abilities, he might have been regarded as a blessing to his country. The benefits that he had conferred on Sweden consisted, in extinguishing that venal and rapacious nest of usurping nobles forming the oligarchy; in restoring order to the finances; in relieving agriculture, by granting a more secure tenure of the crown lands, and longer leases, with reversion to the eldest son; in permitting a free exportation of corn; in preventing land-owners from compelling their tenants to deliver their corn-rent where they commanded; and allowing it to be deposited at the nearest market-town.*

was rejected with indignation. We have seen the king of Poland meet her in her journey; and the emperor, not contented with swelling her triumph at Cherson, appeared in that capital eight days before her, and proceeded a considerable distance up the Dnieper to give her the meeting. The coronation, for reasons we are unable to explain, was laid aside; but the empress was received under triumphal arches at Kiow; and upon her arrival at Cherson, having thought proper to extend the walls to take in a larger space than they yet contained, she inscribed over one of the gates of the city, "*Through this gate lies the road to Byzantium.*" The imperial visitors entered the city on the 23d of May; and, having remained five days, proceeded to make a tour through the principal places of the peninsula, which was completed in something less than a fortnight. The empress returned to Petersburg by the way of Moscow."—*New Annual Register*, 1789—pp. 61 and 62.

* The severity with which the feudal system was then acted upon in Sweden, may be conceived from the nature of those relaxations.

CHAP. II.

The diet of 1786.—*Conduct of Colonel Almfelt.—Precocious attainments of the crown prince.—Jarring politics of the Northern Courts.—War between Sweden and Russia.—Anecdote of Russian naval officers.—Gustavus the Third commands the army of Finland.—A formidable mutiny.—Denmark joins Russia.—Gustavus returns to Stockholm.—Progress of the Danes in Sweden.—Gustavus sets off suddenly for Dalcarlia.—Character of the Dalkarls.—Courage and activity of the king.—British mediation.—Armistice between Denmark and Sweden.*

EIGHT years had elapsed after the diet of 1778, before Gustavus the Third called another general assembly of the states. Whether it was state policy, or the wants of an exhausted treasury that at last impelled this measure, it was deferred as long as possible. The last diet was suddenly closed to prevent the extent of the royal authority being discussed in the House of Nobles. And when the publication of the debates was announced, the king prevented that measure by arbitrarily seizing on the manuscripts and printed copies. These things were not forgotten in 1786.

The proclamation for convoking the diet was suddenly published in Finland: it was wholly unexpected in Stockholm. The empress Catherine reprimanded her minister for not having previously informed her of the event; the report having reached her court from the frontiers. The diet was commenced on the 7th of May, 1786. In his opening speech, the king expatiated on the prosperous state of the kingdom respecting commerce, the army, navy, and fortifications; and he enumerated the many advantages enjoyed since his accession to the throne, of which the royal dissembler said, the chief were, the preservation of peace, and the—*liberty of the people!*

"Our nation, however," said he, "has not been exempted from the vicissitudes to which all mundane situations are liable. The first of all riches, the productions of the earth, have been denied us for the last three years; and this calamity has not a little increased my cares, *who feel for my subjects as for myself.** What endeavors I have used to prevent the disastrous effects of this failure; and what succours I have given for the relief of my subjects, you already know by the effects. May they animate you to concur with me in such measures as may protect our country from similar misfortunes in future!"

* He shewed this by resolutely persevering in all the luxuries of his extravagant establishment, and costly pageantry, at a time of such awful calamity.

Gustavus then spoke of the crown prince, of his education, and of the efforts used to render him worthy of being the head of a free people. "I rejoice," said he, "that the first object which occurs to his innocent view, *is the union of a people essentially free*, submitting to the laws, conjointly with the king, who, at the same time that he is invested with authority, is himself bound by the same laws."*

He concluded his elaborate and high-wrought speech, by presenting the four following propositions to the diet, *i. e.*

1. That the punishment for *infanticide* be changed from death to perpetual imprisonment, with a public whipping once every year, on the day on which the crime was committed.†

2. That estates shall no longer be divided, but shall descend from the father to the eldest son, charged with the portions of the other children.

3. That the king be authorised to draw from the bank a fund sufficient for the establishment of a magazine of corn, in any place where he shall judge convenient, in order to prevent the excessive dearness of that article.

4. That the king be empowered to draw from

* It is really surprising the king should have the temerity and folly to speak thus of a child, by no means of bright natural parts, and who was then no more than seven years and six months old!

† This law was in force in Sweden in 1808.

the bank a fund for defraying the expences of the mines; and particularly for the purpose of securing that of Fahlun from inundation: upon the condition, however, of his depositing in the bank a quantity of copper, equal in value to the specie taken from it.

The king carried only one of these propositions; namely, that which related to the establishment of public granaries, as a resource in years of scarcity. The *manner* in which even this was opposed, shewed that it was suspected that the money which the king might thus obtain, would be devoted to support his destructive splendor. General Baron Pechlin, whom the king arrested in 1772, used very mild language, and liberal sentiments on this occasion.

General Toll, a *ministerialist*, proposed to empower the crown to accept a commutation in money instead of horses, &c. furnished by the occupiers of the crown lands. This proposition was soon negatived. In respect to the abolition of the king's monopoly of the distilleries, he rejected every application from the peasants; expressing his readiness to surrender the monopoly of distilling brandy from corn; but he demanded in its place, as an indemnification, a tax on coffee, and also a perpetual land-tax. This would, to a great extent, have transferred the burthen from the plebeians to the nobles. It was therefore vehemently opposed, and rejected almost unanimously. The only vote of supply was 600,000 dollars, to

provide the public granaries. The king yielded in several matters of minor importance to the wishes of the diet; and even his personal vote in the senate, in case of equal divisions. As he probably had in his own mind, at this time, determined to abolish the senate altogether at the next diet, his yielding the right of giving the casting vote was a small sacrifice. The great nobles plumed themselves on compelling the king to make this concession. They learnt its value when the senate was abolished. Before the states separated, they greatly offended the king by deducting one per cent. from the amount of the taxes requiredf or the necessities of the state; he would not or could not conceal his chagrin. In his closing speech, Gustavus lamented that a restless and mistrustful spirit prevailed, *ill-founded*, and ill-deserved, which seemed likely to interrupt that concord which, at the sacrifice of his private interests, he had endeavored to maintain, and appealed to posterity to do justice to the purity of his motives. His peevish manner shewed how greatly he was annoyed, and he gave the states to understand it should be "*a long time*" before he would again call them together. Thus, in a sullen and unsatisfactory manner, closed the second diet assembled after the overthrow of the oligarchy. Gustavus at this time was very generally disliked. He was suspected of wishing to convert the royal authority into an autocracy. His unbecoming *association* with *young* noblemen,

and the quarrels that sometimes ensued, subjected him to black imputations. Colonel Almfelt displayed the effect of this want of dignity in the king. At the revolution of 1772, he was a cornet in the light dragoons. Gustavus made him a knight of the order of the sword, gave him a patent of nobility, and advanced him to high rank in the army. Yet *he* retired *in disgust* from the court, and opposed the king with the utmost virulence in the diet of 1786;—retaining at the same time appointments to the amount of £.2000 per annum. Such was the manner in which Gustavus endeavoured to *relieve* the distresses of a starving population!—by granting *enormous pensions* to worthless minions, by whom he was secretly despised.

The extraordinary pains taken with the crown prince by the king, who still appeared to those about his person as if he felt no paternal affection towards the child, gave rise to strange surmises. The infant, whilst in long petticoats, was not even taken out an airing without being attended by a party of light horse.* Every step shewed that Gustavus studied stage-effect. The poor child was so much tormented, it was wonderful they

* The wet-nurse, an uncultivated Dalecarlian rustic, never once supposing all this parade was intended to compliment a sucking-baby, told one of the *wacht-meisters*, or chamber-grooms, that she was quite ashamed of the honors *paid her at court;* and was afraid she should be envied and disliked on that account by her neighbours on her return to Dalecarlia.

did not reduce his mind to a state of idiotcy. He was reared in a hardy manner, and immersed so often in cold water, in cold weather, that his legs became blue and discolored: but, from the moment of his birth, he was attended with every mark of homage that regal pride and etiquette could devise. Gustavus carried the young prince from one province to another; condemning him to painful and wearisome rehearsals, in order to prepare him for daily exhibitions of precocious attainments. Of course, each person that approached the infant prodigy, listened with profound attention to his measured recitations, watching his motions as if he had been an automaton instead of a living child. A mode of education as likely to spoil the future man, as if he had been reared by a gang of strolling players. Gustavus used *this heir to his throne*, sometimes as a conductor to ward off the flash of popular indignation, but always subservient to his selfish and ambitious designs. After having exhibited him in many provincial towns, he caused the royal babe to make his first appearance on academic boards at Upsala ere he had completed his eighth year. During a stay of *six weeks*, the young Gustavus enjoyed neither rest nor tranquillity. He was daily made to exhibit all his acquirements. The successor of that great botanist, Linné, said one day in derision, "*I must attend the young crown prince to receive a lesson on botany!*" The king assisted, or rather tutored, the unfortunate boy in most of the private, and all

the public exercises he performed. Those who lavished flattery most unsparingly, gratified and best pleased the artful Gustavus, who cared nothing as to the private thoughts of mankind, so that they paid him external homage. In taking his son through the provinces, and shewing him the forms of academic education; in familiarising him to public asemblies, and the youths then studying, there was nothing improper. It was the over-wrought manner in which these things were performed by Gustavus, that prevented any good effect arising, and often rendered these royal exhibitions equally ridiculous and wearisome.*

* The Rev. Mr. Coxe, though not a servile man, was still a flatterer of kings, in return for which he experienced '*extreme condescensions*, from monarchs, who wished to make a figure in his future volumes. Yet, in spite of all his caution, he sometimes let a glimpse of his real feelings escape. Vol. 4. p. 66, he says, "On the 8th, we passed the whole day at Drottningholm, according to the *tedious forms of Swedish etiquette*, to which the king is so much attached. We set off *full dressed* from Stockholm at eleven; and as the weather was *showery*, the embarkation in the minister's barge was *rather* disagreeable." A little further on he writes, "It was gala-day, and we saw the court in all its splendor. The *gala dress* for both men and women is *blue silk* and *satin*, with *white lining* and *ornaments:* to a stranger, the company appeared as if *habited for a* masquerade." The *king's dress* is thus described: "After church the king made his appearance, and he wore a FANCY DRESS OF PURPLE *silk*, RICHLY EMBROIDERED WITH GOLD; *for while he has* LIMITED *his subjects to particular colors, he* VARIES *his own dress with all the tints of the rainbow.*" On being presented, the king did me the honor to converse with me in the most gracious manner;

Whilst revelry and pageantry in constantly varying shapes, distinguished the effeminate and luxurious court of Gustavus the Third; misery and famine, extended itself rapidly amongst the laboring poor from one extremity of Sweden to another. The groans of the wretches who perished of want, the curses of the degraded paupers who were reduced to seek for such food as the king's well fed hounds would have turned from with loathing, produced not the least retrenchment. This cruel prince continued his guilty magnificence, brim-full of sympathy and condescension; but as indifferent to the misery that was greatly aggravated, if not caused, by his wasteful magni-

he recollected having seen me before in Sweden; mentioned the docks in Carlscrona, and asked me if I had seen the dock at Toulon? adding, "*It is not for* ME *to boast, but, in* MY *estimation, the works in Toulon are trifling in comparison with those of Carlscrona. We do not boast of pictures and statues, but we can shew the works of Trollhätta, Carlscrona, and Svealborg.*" Soon after, he repaired to a large saloon, *dined in public*, and conversed with the foreign ministers, who *surrounded* his chair." Mr. Coxe concludes his narration of this day's grandeur thus: "At the conclusion of the opera, we embarked in a *covered brage, crossed the water in the rain, and arrived at Stockholm about midnight.*" (The distance by water is greater than by land, which is seven miles English.) "Such is the *necessary* etiquette of the Swedish court; but the king *contrives* as much as possible, to relieve the *ennui* of the day, by the affability of his manners, and the vivacity of his conversation." This is Mr. Coxe's account of Gustavus and his court; whose fondness for those exhibitions, and sending the ministers home at midnight by water, almost caused a *mutiny* in the *diplomatic corps* at Stockholm.

ficence, as the cold rocks on which his subjects perished. Nothing was heard at court but approbation of all the acts of "*the best of kings*;" nothing in the capital and provinces but complaints, and prayers for reform and retrenchment. To these Gustavus turned a deaf ear. His ministers and minions imputed every thing to the spirit of disaffection. Meantime the oppressed and suffering poor, overwhelmed by intolerable misery, broke out into frequent revolts, that were as frequently put down by the bayonet. But several of the *king's distilleries* were burnt to the ground, and his inspectors and officers murdered. From these causes, and the consequent *loss* it occasioned, the king at last was induced to relinlinquish his odious monopoly, and allow the farmers to distil a limited quantity of brandy for their own use, paying to the king a certain quantity of rye each harvest, according to the extent of their farm.

The conduct of Russia towards the Ottoman empire at last determined the grand seignior to have recourse to arms. Torn by internal dissensions, the court of Versailles was in no condition to assist the Turks. The emperor of Germany, although he endeavoured to mask his hostile views by pretending to act only as an auxiliary of Russia, whom he met at Cherson, fully entered into the views of Catherine the Second, England and Prussia viewed her projects with jealousy; and as to Sweden, the king was too

eager to bind his brows with laurel, not to anticipate the wishes of the Turks, and determine on war with Russia: a disposition in which he was secretly encouraged by the courts of London and Berlin. The constitution of 1772, which he had himself formed, expressly excluded the king from waging an offensive war without the formal sanction of the states in diet assembled. The temper manifested by that of 1786, forbade the hope of being able to carry his point; France being unable to take part with Turkey, and Austria leagued with Russia. Secretly determined on war, he prepared for the event by land and sea. Knowing that Denmark was bound to assist Russia in case of her territories being invaded, Gustavus was of course anxious, if possible, to detach his wife's nephew, the crown prince, from the interest of Russia, and obtain his hearty concurrence in Swedish projects. This prince, however, entertained the worst possible opinion of Gustavus the Third, whose reputation for over-wrought duplicity was so thoroughly established, that even when he avowed his real feelings, he was certain not to be believed. If, joined to these matters, the extraordinary and disgusting nature of the conduct pursued by the Swedish monarch towards Sophia Magdalena be considered, it cannot be any matter of surprise that the crown prince of Denmark should feel very reluctant to commit himself with a prince of so indifferent a character. Yet,

for hesitating to place the fleet and army of Denmark at the disposal of Gustavus, the crown prince was loudly censured in this country; the soundness of his understanding rudely questioned; and his ministers openly accused of having sold themselves to Russia! Gustavus travelled twice to Copenhagen to influence his nephew, the first time at the close of 1787, and next in the spring of 1788.

It is almost certain that Catherine the Second relied on the neutrality of Sweden during her war with Turkey, and that she sent into Asia more troops than she would otherwise have done. It is probable her dependence rested less on the pacific disposition of Gustavus, than the preponderance of the nobles in the diet that she expected he *must* call before he commenced offensive operations. The naval and military preparations of Gustavus were in a state of great forwardness. Catherine was informed of this; and whilst Gustavus was employed in maturing plans to gloss over his pre-determined violation of his oath, his imperial opponent was no less diligently at work to render his breach of faith subversive of his designs: not alone in Stockholm, but more particularly in *Finland*. These manœuvres were reported to Gustavus the Third; and, right or wrong, the Russian minister Razomoffsky was denounced. The latter, on the 18th of June, 1778,* delivered in a note in which he complained

* For these curious state papers, see *New Annual Register*, 1788.

of secret armaments, and demanded an explanation as to their object, asserting that Count Oxentsjern had declared to a foreign minister, they were intended against Russia. Gustavus replied in a circular note, without date, accusing Razomoffsky of encouraging internal treachery, and aiming at separating the king from the nation: Gustavus reserved to himself, upon his arrival in Finland, to answer more particularly; and ordered the Russian minister to quit Stockholm in the space of seven days; offering *ships* to escort him to Petersburg *by sea;* a mode of travelling to which he had some personal, and many more *political* objections to offer. Gustavus could not have a public minister seized and stowed against his will on board a hostile ship; and he would not permit Razomoffsky to proceed, as he desired, via *Abo,* to Petersburg. The result was, that the wily Russian remained in Stockholm. Gustavus embarked with his army at Stockholm on the 24th June, and landed in Finland on the 2d July. About a fortnight previous to the arrival of Gustavus in Finland, hostilities were *commenced,* and as the Swede asserted, on the *side of Russia,* whose light troops having passed the Swedish frontier not far from Savolax; when the Swedish commander, *thinking hostilities were commenced,* not merely repulsed the invaders, but entered Russian Finland; and, according to '*ancient usage,*' possessed himself of the passes that commanded the roads into Swedish Finland, and proceeded to form the blockade of Nyslot!—Such was the

court version in Sweden of this affair. Russia, on the contrary, sturdily denied the imputed aggression. And it must be allowed, that the conduct of the Swedish commander looked very suspicious. The anti-Gustavian party in the capital and in Finland, resolutely declared that Gustavus was the aggressor. It was then reported, and it is said to have been subsequently confirmed, that, to furnish a colour to the projected invasion, and make the war appear as an offensive one on the part of Sweden, Gustavus dressed a party of German soldiers in the Russian uniform; which, led by trusty officers, entered by a remote pass the Swedish territory, plundering a few solitary farms, and driving back an advanced post of Swedes. This account was current in 1808, in Stockholm. But which ever were the first *to commence* hostilities, the news being carried direct to the duke of Sodermanland, who commanded the Swedish grand fleet, the war broke forth at once by sea and land! Such was the state of affairs when Gustavus landed in Finland, and took the chief command of the Swedish troops. His first step was to communicate to the empress the conditions on which peace might be preserved. They were as follow: namely,

1. The punishment of Count Razomoffsky, for having attempted to create internal dissensions, and meddle with the domestic affairs of Sweden.

2. That Catherine should cede to Sweden all those parts of Finland and Carelia, and also the

district of Kexholm, that had been wrested from Sweden by the treaties of Nystadt and Abo.

3. That Catherine should accept his mediation, by authorising him to offer to the Turks *the cession of the Crimea*, and the regulation of the limits upon the footing of Cainargi; or, if that concession should *not prove acceptable* to the Divan, that the question as to territory, should be placed on the same footing, on which it stood previously to the war of 1768.

4. As a security against *being injured* by acting as mediator, that Russia should *disarm their fleets*, and *withdraw* their cruizers from the Baltic; those of Sweden to remain armed, and at sea, till the final ratification of peace.

These, the modest king, called the conditions of his *ultimatum!* The sole object of these wild and absurd demands was, to flatter the national pride of the *Swedish nation;* and thus counteract the endeavours made by his enemies to separate the throne from the kingdom. With every reflecting mind, it operated the contrary way; but Gustavus knew that nineteen were led by their passions and prejudices, where one decided and acted on the principles of reason. Its effect in Sweden was highly favorable to his views. The war became popular: the ruin of the Russian and Danish navies was predicted with confidence; and that, avenging the losses sustained by Sweden, Gustavus would chase Catherine

and the Muscovites from Petersburg, and restore Sweden to the rank it possessed in Europe in the days of the great Gustavus Adolphus. The sagacious Catherine was not deceived by this finesse. She immediately published her manifesto in reply; in which that blood-stained woman, upbraided Gustavus as a tyrant and usurper, stigmatizing the revolution of 1772, as a gross fraud practised on the nation, with a view to deprive the Swedes of their liberty. Although this might be true, yet, coming from the lips of a woman, who mounted the throne by the murder of her husband, and kept possession to the exclusion of her son, and whose will was the only law, it appeared quite preposterous.

At the first commencement of hostilities, two Russian frigates were captured, and taken into Sveaborg. The Swedish grand fleet sailed from Carlscrona on the 9th of June, and fell in with a division of Russian line of battle ships, consisting of three of one hundred guns each, and one seventy-four, under the command of Admiral Dessen, proceeding to Elsineur. The duke of Sodermanland, insisted upon the Russian admiral saluting the Swedish flag. Agreeably surprised at the moderation of the request, when he expected nothing less than to be captured, he sagaciously replied, "that although by the stipulations of formal treaties, there could be no question as to salutes between the fleets of Russia and Sweden; yet he had no objection to

pay that respect to the brother of the king of Sweden." After some immaterial discussion, the duke allowed this important force to proceed to its destination: a proof of the want of decision and firmness in the king.* It was thought singular that Gustavus did not allow the Russian fleet commanded by Admiral Greig,† to sail for the Archipelago; and then, with his united force, attempt

* It was rumoured and believed in the higher circles in Russia and Sweden, that the duke Charles was secretly in the pay of Catherine, who proposed to give him Finland, with the title of grand duke, if he would openly declare against his brother.

† Doctor Clarke, M. Masson, and other writers, have been of late years severely censured, for attributing the vice of *pilfering* to the native Russian nobles. It is to be hoped, the practice has greatly diminished, or rather, ceased altogether. That it was prevalent as recently as the time when those authors wrote, is unquestionably true. Admiral Greig and his wife were natives of Scotland. After his promotion in the Russian service, Mrs. Greig went to Leith, and bespoke a large quantity of silver table spoons and forks, and a still larger number of plated. Mr. P. F—r—r, who supplied them, inquired why she had so many expensive *plated* spoons and forks, besides the silver? The lady told him that her husband was forced to give frequent dinners to the Russian naval officers, who were in the habit of putting the spoons in their pockets: a practice that was so common, that the admiral used to place persons to watch his guests during dinner; who were placed at the door to demand stolen articles as the purloiners went out; and when it was refused, offenders were searched!—The admiral, therefore, substituted a large quantity of plated spoons and forks, as, in spite of all precautions, they lost several every public dinner. The gentleman who supplied those articles is yet living, a man of character in London; and he told this anecdote as a grave matter of fact to the author at the close of the year 1816. The author has also heard

a blow against Cronstadt and Petersburg. It was one of many strange actions on the part of Gustavus, that are not to be accounted for on any rational principle of state policy. Perhaps he was jealous of the *eclat* Russia might acquire in the south; and calculating too highly his own naval resources, resolved to have the fleet attacked. On the 4th of July 1788, the Russian fleet sailed from Cronstadt. On the 17th, he fell in with the grand fleet of Sweden, commanded by the duke of Sodermanland, who was assisted by Admiral Count Wrangel. A general engagement ensued off Hogland, which lasted five hours; and terminated in a drawn battle. The Swedes captured a Russian seventy-four, and completely disabled another line of battle ship: the Russians took a Swedish sixty-four, carrying a flag. The Swedish fleet at the commencement of the engagement, was inferior in force; but a reinforcement of large frigates rendered them nearly equal: the Russians having seventeen ships of the line, the Swedes fifteen. The battle was very fierce, each party displaying considerable skill, and both the fleets sustained serious damage.

Whilst such were the principal naval actions of this year, Gustavus, at the head of his army in Finland, advanced towards Frederickshamn. He encamped on the 19th of July, within a few

Swedish noblemen assert that it was dangerous, if a Russian nobleman visited their hotels, to leave any thing portable and valuable, such as snuff-boxes, watches, or trinkets, in their way.

miles of that port and fortress. A part of the garrison, the following night, attacked his advanced guard. The assailants were repulsed, and driven back with loss. A few days afterwards, a detachment of six thousand troops embarked at Sveaborg, with orders to attack the fortress in the rear, whilst Gustavus should advance against it in front.* Two cannon shots, fired at a regulated distance of time, was the signal by which Gustavus was to be informed of their approach. The Swedish fleet was detained several days by contrary winds; and the enemy obtained possession, not merely of the plan, but even of the private signal fixed on by the king himself! The Swedes lost many troops, particularly cavalry, in attempting to explore the height that commanded a view of the gulph, in hopes of discovering the expected fleet. At length, on the 1st of August, two cannon shot, being the appointed signal, were distinctly heard by the Swedish out-posts. Deceived by the enemy, the party sent forward towards the walls were suddenly attacked by a force in ambuscade, and not without great loss and difficulty made good its retreat. The next day, however, the expected reinforcement arrived, and the disembarkation took place. The governor of Frederickshamn, though

* These expressions are dubious: Frederickshamn being a sea port, most probably the Sveaborg expedition was ordered to commence the attack by sea; on which Gustavus meant to advance to co-operate on the land side.

apprised of an event that was to blast all the bright visions indulged by Gustavus, made every preparation for the expected assault, causing the suburbs to be burnt, that they might not afford shelter to the foe.

The province of Finland was of equal value to Sweden and Russia, and in every war it became the theatre of hostilities, the inhabitants suffering the most terrible of visitations. The vast and increasing power of Russia, impressed on the minds of the Finland nobility a belief that ultimately the power of Russia would prevail, and the whole of Finland become a Swedish province. The agents of Catherine encouraged this belief by every means in their power. More than a year before the war commenced, Gustavus was accused of being determined, without the sanction of a diet, to attack Russia. The emissaries sent by the empress artfully expatiating on the perjuries and boundless ambition of Gustavus, represented that it was the duty of the Finlanders to refuse invading Russia, whereby they were sure to draw destruction on their own heads, and boldly to remonstrate: adding, that the persons and property of all those who acted in this manner should be respected by the Russian troops, whilst on all those who joined in the invasion of Russian Finland, the most terrible vengeance should be executed. As soon as the war commenced, proclamations printed in the Finland tongue were profusely

distributed, confirming these menaces and seductive offers.

Many of the chief noblemen* and gentry of Finland, holding commissions in the Finland army, being aware of the artifices to which the king had recourse, whereby to elude the conditions of the constitution of 1772; and being also, perhaps, dismayed at the prospect of that terrible retaliation which they foresaw the empress Catherine would inflict in return for this invasion, and of which, their families and estates were sure to be the first victims, determined to resist the king's authority. Having sounded the inclinations of the soldiery, and finding them as docile as they could wish, they secretly drew up a solemn protest, declaring their inviolable attachment to the laws of Sweden, and their readiness, with their hearts' blood, to defend the province against all invaders. They complained indignantly of being, without the sanction of the estates of Sweden, called upon to carry a war of aggression into a foreign country. Thus prepared they waited a proper opportunity to declare themselves; which presented itself when the king commanded Colonel Hestesko to march to the assault of Fredericksham. The colonel first offered some remonstrances to the king, respecting the dangers and difficulties of the way by which he proposed for the troops to

* Colonels Spengporten and Hestesko, were the principal military leaders.

approach; namely, over an impassable marsh. Irritated at their apparent want of zeal, Gustavus *insisted* on being obeyed. The confederated officers then, in plain and direct terms, told the astonished king that he had not any legal right to lead them to an act of offensive warfare without the consent of the states of Sweden! That, if their country were attacked, they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in its defence; but that they would do no more than protect their own frontiers against invasion! The king, trusting to his eloquence and his influence, appealed to the listening soldiery. Instead of separating these from their chiefs, he was heard with a sullen silence that was truly ominous, and the regiment of Abo, of which Colonel Hestesko was at the head, immediately laid down their arms!

Never was a blow that was more severely felt, struck against the guilty designs of an ambitious king. His splendid dream of chacing Catherine and her court from St. Petersburg, which appeared on the very eve of being realised, vanished for ever.* Mortified and chagrined to the highest

* It is an unquestionable fact, so great was the alarm at Petersburg that the empress Catherine had commanded the archives of the state, and the most precious and portable of her treasures, to be packed up, ready for removal! The revolt of the Finland army, and the disasters that attended his naval operations, certainly saved Petersburg from being captured by the Swedes. An event that would have covered Gustavus with what is called "*glory*," and as certainly have led to the utter ruin and desolation of his kingdom.

pitch, Gustavus had, at the moment, no power to punish the indignity. If he had then offered to arrest the Finland officers, he saw that the soldiers would have risen in their defence. Colonel Hestesko said to Gustavus in a low tone of voice, "*Sire, beware! The moment is critical! Remember,* "*that one false step may lead to the loss of your* "*crown.*" The cheeks of Gustavus were blanched but not by cowardice, for no man was more free from that taint: he did *remember* things, which he intended should long, if not eternally remain concealed. It was that consciousness which blanched his cheeks: *he dreaded an exposure!* and that the disaffected Swedish nobility, might perhaps at that very moment be assembled in his metropolis, aiming a deadly and concerted blow at his political power, if not his life. Whilst his heart, filled with rage and anguish, panted for vengeance, and his lips quivered from half-subdued rage; seeing the storm approach, Gustavus wisely yielded to a power that would have otherwise destroyed him. He soon appeared composed and determined. With an aching heart, and unruffled brow, he commanded General Seigeroth to re-embark the troops that had effected their landing, and were also ready for the attack, and to make the best of his way back. The blockade of Nyslot, an impregnable fortress, that could never be taken but by famine, which stood on the point of surrendering to the Swedish forces under Colonel Häster, was obliged to be precipitately raised. The whole army

was withdrawn, every advantage relinquished; and with feelings of no very enviable kind, the perfidious and disappointed king made the utmost haste to his metropolis.

The business of the campaign being thus suddenly and disgracefully closed, the mutinous officers of the army of Finland, entered into open negociations with the court of Russia. During these transactions, the Russian minister Razamoffsky remained in Stockholm, and it may be presumed that his influence was not small in producing those events. The chiefs of the revolted army had the audacity to send deputies to Petersburg, proposing an armistice, till the senate of Sweden should resolve on the steps it might be proper to pursue, to restrain the ambition of a king who laughed at oaths. It may readily be supposed that these traitors were well received by Catherine, who loved their treachery, however she might despise the men. What is more extraordinary,—and which, joined to other circumstances, seemed in some measure to countenance the report that was so general in Petersburg respecting the treachery of the Duke of Sodermanland,—the negotiations between a revolted army and the Russian court were carried on under his own eyes. The duke Charles left his fleet, to take the command of the army, and appeared at first determined to throw every impediment in the way of that treasonable correspondence; but he soon changed his system, and

ratified the conditions of that extraordinary convention. The consequences were, that the Swedes retreated at all points from the Russian territories; and the Russian army immediately advancing, took possession of those passes that the Swedes had seized, and without which the enemy could not have forced his way into Swedish Finland! One general officer alone, Lieutenant General Plaaten, boldly maintained his station in Carelia, asserting that he would not be bound by the act of his commander in chief, when it was procured by extortion. Such were the first results of a mutiny that shook the throne of Gustavus the third. And it must be admitted,—*if any thing could justify the Finland chiefs*,—it existed in the deep dissimulation of Gustavus, and the alacrity with which he violated a fundamental principle of a constitution he had solemnly and emphatically sworn to defend inviolate.

The same policy that led Gustavus to invade Finland, tempted the crown prince of Denmark to take advantage of the distress in which Gustavus was involved, in order to wrest from Sweden the provinces that had been conquered in former wars. But, possessing *absolute power*, the royal Dane was exempted from the odium of violated oaths: he was besides bound by treaty to assist Russia. Gustavus heard in Finland of these preparations, and he instantly sent an official note claiming the mediation of Denmark to negotiate a peace with the empress; or, the observ-

ance by Denmark of a strict neutrality. Count Bernstorff, in the name of the king, replied to the Swedish note. He protested against the principle laid down therein; and affirmed that peace was *not violated* by supplying the ships of war and troops stipulated for in the treaty with Russia, and required the continuance of friendly relations with Sweden, after having already commenced hostilities against it! This declaration was dated the 23d of September 1788. On the 6th of October, Baron de Sprengporten forwarded a counter declaration, on the part of Gustavus the Third, affirming, what was indeed self-evident, that the peace was at an end, and protesting against the doctrine laid down by Count Bernstorff, adding that the king "resting on the assurances of Mr. Elliot" (British envoy at Copenhagen), "embraces the condition with satisfaction, provided that *defeating* the *Danish auxiliaries* in Sweden, is not considered as *hostility* against his Danish majesty."

In the month of June preceding, the crown prince of Denmark set out on a tour to Norway. Gustavus affected to expect him to pay a *friendly visit* to the Swedish frontiers, and sent some officers of his court to receive the royal Dane with due respect. The viceroy of Norway (Prince Charles of Hesse) had preceded the crown prince, and visited the fortifications of Warberg, Elfsborg, and Gothenburg. The Swedes affirmed, that Prince Charles acted with gross dissimulation; entering Sweden rather as a spy than as an

honorable visitor. And that the journey of the Crown Prince to Norway was also a feint practised to deceive the Swedish court: for, instead of sending the auxiliaries to Russia, it was determined to employ them in the invasion of Sweden itself. This formidable source of danger furnished one great motive for Gustavus so suddenly quitting Finland. In the constitution of 1772, that monarch had not provided for his absence from Sweden. And as the king was not entitled to vote in the senate by proxy, his absence left the field open to the machinations of his enemies; and it was determined to convene a diet without the concurrence of Gustavus, for the ostensible and specious object of allaying public discontent.

After his sudden return to Stockholm, the king retired for a short time to his favorite little pavilion at Haga. His sudden appearance, however, broke up the plan for convening a diet. The people at large were inflamed to the highest degree against the revolted army, and against the nobles who were suspected of instigating the mutiny in Finland. The Swedes thought they saw a glorious opportunity lost by cowardice and treachery, of avenging the wrongs and losses sustained from Russia. Gustavus artfully increased the storm of public indignation, which raged so fierce that an officer could scarcely shew himself in the streets without danger of being massacred. Baron Charles De Geer, the wealthy chief of one of the oldest noble families in Sweden, as

well as other obnoxious noblemen, had a narrow escape from the fury of the populace. Gustavus addressed the burgers of Stockholm, telling them that he placed the most entire confidence in *their affection and loyalty*, and should entrust the royal family and the capital to *their fidelity and courage*. He addressed them on the *Slots Backa*,* from the spot where a most beautiful and superb obelisk of polished granite has been since erected. Gustavus was unusually eloquent and impressive. The whole multitude seemed fired with enthusiasm. Two thousand burgers, horse and foot, speedily enrolled themselves, and performed all the military duties of the regular garrison.

In all these transactions, Gustavus was assisted by General Baron Armfelt; who was one of the most vile and unprincipled of mankind. He was the secret instigator of many of Gustavus's worst actions; flattering the monarch whom he was artfully leading to destruction. On the return of the king, this minion strove all he could to drive the discontented nobles into rebellion, probably with the hope of laying the whole of Sweden at the feet of Catherine. Whilst these events were occurring in Stockholm, the prince of Hesse sailed from Jutland; and after landing contiguous to the Swedish frontier in Norway, entered Sweden at the head of an army twelve thousand strong, and well appointed. On the

* The Castle-hill, at the rear of the great palace.

26th of September, 1788, he took possession of Strömstadt, a small port and city. The head-quarters of Baron General Hjerta and the Swedish army, were at Vennersborg: a strong detachment of Swedish troops, commanded by Colonel Tranfelt, was placed at Quistrum, a pass that commanded the road to Gothenburg. It was reported that the charms of a handsome landlady, and a wish on the side of the colonel not to destroy her house, led to an omission of which the Danish prince rapidly availing himself, compelled the Swedish colonel and the troops to surrender. Prince Charles of Hesse, next summoned Uddevalla, which city he entered on the 1st of October; whence he sent to summon Gothenburg itself, which, according to every appearance, seemed likely to open its gates without resistance.

This formidable and sudden invasion of Sweden by Denmark, formed an exigency that roused all the great qualities of Gustavus; whose courage seemed to rise with the difficulties by which he was surrounded. The popular resentment excited by the revolt in Finland, having rendered the king secure for the present against the enmity of the aristocracy, he made rapid preparations to repel the invaders. Thus, that formidable mutiny, which threatened to wrest the sceptre from his hand, had a directly opposite effect, revived his former popularity, and strengthened his arm. Nor was it against Catherine, and the Russian faction in Sweden, alone, towards whom Gustavus artfully

directed the public indignation that prevailed; but against the crown prince of Denmark, whose name and character he overwhelmed with opprobrious epithets, accusing him of a train of perfidious actions, and a wish to present the world with a second tragedy in Stockholm, in imitation of that performed by Christian the tyrant. The former cruelties of the Danes, handed down to the existing generation by tradition, are yet fresh in the memory of the Swedes. It was to induce the Dalcarlians to take up arms against the Danes, that Gustavus Vasa, a fugitive and alone, cast himself upon their honor and bravery! Sweden being again in danger from a Danish army, nothing could be better conceived than the eloquent and pathetic appeal made to the passions and prejudices of the Dalcarlians. Gustavus had given orders for troops to be transported from Finland and Pomerania, to hasten to the defence of the western provinces; and to strengthen the garrison of Gothenburg, he sent away from Stockholm the foot-guards, and the Jemtland regiment. The capital thus stripped of regular troops, was left to the care of the burgers. Pressed on all sides to call a diet, and perhaps apprehensive *of his person being seized,* Gustavus made a sudden and unexpected journey into Dalcarlia,* whereby

* The people of Dalcarlia, according to the testimony of Sir John Carr, Sir Robert Porter, and other British travellers, are the devoted slaves of royalty, and ready at

artfully exaggerating his danger, and suppressing his own guilty machinations that had involved his country in a ruinous war, he worked so powerfully upon the passions of that brave, impetuous, and illiterate race of peasants, that they offered to march to Stockholm, and wreak vengeance on

all times to support their king, indifferent whether he was the oppressed or oppressing party. Such ideas are totally at variance with truth. Where the peasants of this province have been once in arms to defend the crown, they have revolted ten times against the royal authority.

They have been, from time immemorial, the most impatient under oppression of any province in Sweden: and as inflexibly addicted to their own local habits and customs. They live in the most spare and hardy manner; frequently suffering severe want, and compelled to mix the bark of trees with the coarsest meal, for bread. They are called Black or Grey Dal-karls, according to the colour of their dress; one part of the province being clad in black, and the other in grey. Their dress is composed of the coarsest and least costly materials. They emigrate in spring and summer in great numbers, in search of employ, and return home in winter. They make good soldiers, and laborious and faithful servants.

When Gustavus the First sought refuge amongst them, it was in vain he told them of the cruelties of Christian the Second, and the torrents of Swedish blood that he had shed. "He lets us alone," said the clowns, "and we have plenty of salt and herrings." But at last he prevailed, and the page of history proclaims that it was principally by their aid that Gustavus Vasa subdued the Danes, and delivered Sweden from their heavy and degrading yoke.

After Gustavus had been crowned king, these same

the restless aristocracy. The king's *shadow*, as Baron Armfelt was termed, seconded the views of the king so well, that ere long a volunteer force of 3000 young men was raised, with an assurance that the number should be doubled if necessary. The Dalcarlians agreed to march to the relief of

Dalcarlians shewed the utmost uneasiness: six times they revolted against his authority, upon some mistaken ideas that their privileges were likely to be infringed. In 1518, when Gustavus proclaimed the protestant religion, as the religion of the state, the Dalcarlians took up arms. Being abandoned by their chiefs, and overawed by the great force that Gustavus marched against them, and still influenced by the eloquence of that majestic prince, who had so often led them to victory, they were induced to lay down their arms. Another revolt was occasioned by an apprehension that some alteration was meditated in their dress, which they resolved to maintain themselves, and even insisted that the king and his court should continue to wear.

About the middle of the last century, the Dalcarlian peasants, displeased by the events of a campaign in Finland, rose in a body, and marched off for Stockholm, vowing vengeance against the unfortunate generals. During their disorderly march, they compelled all the peasants with whom they fell in, to join them. They entered Stockholm without opposition, and beset the house of nobles. A senator, (whose rank in Sweden is equal to a prince in Germany, or a duke in England,) went out dressed in his senatorial robes to address the wild and infuriated multitude. He was shot dead in a moment. The soldiers of the garrison then attacked the insurgents, many of whom were killed on the spot: those who escaped, made the best of their way back to Dalcarlia.

the invaded provinces; their example being followed by others, Gustavus assembled a force that he thought adequate to the protection of his invaded kingdom. But had it not been for the interference of Great Britain and Prussia, Sweden would have been deprived of two of her most

In 1808, when the pretended son and successor to Gustavus the Third, attempted to enforce the conscription in their province, they refused compliance: a revolt was expected, and the troops that were raised to complete what was called the supplementary army, were amongst the last that reached the place of rendezvous. Lastly, when the revolution of 1809 was on the point of breaking out, it was in vain that the weak and imbecile king strove to animate the Dalcarlians to rise in arms in his defence.

The province of Dalcarlia is of considerable extent; but very poor, and thinly peopled: its name *Dalarne*, or *the Dales*, is descriptive of its situation. It is less woody than some of the provinces of Sweden. The cultivated land is very small in proportion to the waste or bog land, mountains, and lakes. The loftiest mountains do not, exceed four thousand feet perpendicular height. Their huts are simple in the extreme, and without glass; the same hole that lets in the light, letting out the smoke. They hold their lands by a particular tenure, and amongst the peasantry the privilege of primogeniture is unknown. Exclusive of the great divisions of the province into the *black* and the *grey* Dalcarls; each parish has some distinguishing mark of dress, by which the natives can in a moment tell from what particular parish they come. The dress of the superior class of peasants bears some resemblance to a quaker's of the last century;

valuable provinces; namely, West Gothland and Scania.

The Dalcarlians being thoroughly set in motion, Gustavus proceeded at their head into Wermerland; where, as well as circumstances permitted, he provided for the defence of the principal forts and passes.

At Carlstadt, the capital of Wermerland, Gustavus was met by Mr. Elliot, the British envoy resident at Copenhagen. Having in vain exerted all his influence to detach Denmark from Russia, as soon as hostilities commenced, he crossed the Sound to visit Gustavus, to whom, at this crisis, his presence was worth an army: nor was the king slow in availing himself to the utmost of this important advantage. In the midst of the triumphant progress of the Danes, he informed his subjects of

they have no collars to their coats, wear large hats, and their necks generally open. Their province is surrounded by Wermerland, Norway, Herjedal, Helsingland, and including about two degrees of latitude and five of longitnde.

To the naturalist this province is interesting. Its mineralogy has never been thoroughly explored. Of British travellers, Doctor Thomas Thompson, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. gives the best account respecting its formation; but he saw but little of the province himself, except near the roads to and from the great mines. This work, which excels any other in the English tongue, rather as a Mineralogical Survey of Sweden, than as a picture of men and manners, is a quarto,—and was published in London, 1813.

the strong reasons he had for depending on their speedy retreat. Nor did Mr. Elliot make any unnecessary delay in giving full effect to his powerful interference. He wrote two letters to the prince of Hesse, enjoining him in the most energetic terms, to put an immediate stop to hostilities. Finding that the Danes pressed forward, and the unexpected and unwelcome tidings having reached Gustavus, of Colonel Tranfelt, of the West-Gothland regiment, with 700 privates, and some artillery, having, on the 29th September, surrendered at Quistrum to the Danish army; Mr. Elliot saw that not a moment was to be lost; and it was agreed between Gustavus and this active and resolute mediator, that the latter should proceed with all speed, and reach Gothenburg before the Danish army. To him alone was confided the intention of Gustavus to leave his head-quarters privately, and make his way as quick as possible to the same city. Meantime, the most anxious cares pressed on the king, who was greatly alarmed, lest, in spite of every effort of Mr. Elliot, Gothenburg, and the fortresses on the Gotha Älf, should be treacherously given up to the Danes. Gustavus soon after set off, unattended, on horseback: the distance was about a hundred miles English. The king proceeded round the eastern shore of Lake Vennern: the Danes were on the west.

It is said he had several hair-breadth escapes of being captured. This is doubtful; the Danes not having passed the Gotha Älf. It

was midnight when, alone and unknown, he arrived at the Gamla port,* and not till after long parlying, could he obtain permission to enter. It was with difficulty he could make the guard believe, that the solitary stranger who demanded admission was their king. He repaired direct to the house of General Duretz, the commandant, who, surprised and confounded at the unexpected appearance of his sovereign, told him that all was lost, and that nothing could save the city from being captured. The king, eyeing him disdainfully, replied, "You mistake, General! I came on purpose to save it." Being greatly fatigued, he required to be shewn to a bed. The embarrassed general could not conceal that he had removed every thing of value! Neither bedding, plate, tables, nor chairs, remained in his house. An English merchant, who lived next door, accommodated the king, by lending him a few essential articles, who, throwing himself undressed on a bed spread upon the floor, probably slept sounder than the commandant.

Gustavus arose very early the next morning. General Duretz appeared to receive his commands. On learning that the king was determined to defend the city to the last extremity, the *loyal* general dropped on his knees, and entreated him to leave a place so little capable of resistance. "The enemy draws near, sire," said he. "This very day, he will summon the city

* The old gate.

to surrender. In case of a refusal, an assault will take place, and your majesty's *sacred person* be too much exposed." — Gustavus heard him in silence, and then said, without any appearance of anger, "Such being your opinion, general, you will of course feel obliged to me for releasing you from the charge of this garrison. Retire, sir, and *follow your baggage!* Count John Sparr is your successor."

The king assembled the magistrates and principal persons of the city. He told them that the Dalcarlians and Wermerlanders were in motion, and coming to their relief. That if they would second his efforts, he had no doubt of repelling the enemy and saving the city; "which," said he, "I regard as one of the most precious jewels in my crown." Charmed by his eloquence, animated by his courage, and, above all, confiding in the efficiency of foreign interference to arrest the progress of the invaders, they readily agreed to second, as far as they could, the king's brave resolve. They gave their carriage, and saddle-horses, to help convey balks and planks to the batteries, none of which were in a proper state of defence, or fit, during a siege, to bear a cannon. Even the ladies appeared on the ramparts, and encouraged their townswomen to aid in works of defence. All ranks of people seemed emulous to surpass each other in sacrifices or exertions to save the place; and a short time sufficed to put it in a condition to prevent its being taken at the first attack.

The general's intelligence proved to be quite correct. In the course of that day (the 5th October) a Danish herald arrived, charged with a letter to the late governor, demanding the surrender of Gothenburg.

Great was his astonishment on being introduced, not to General Duretz, but to the king of Sweden! The herald was dismissed with a message, such as might be expected from the altered situation of affairs.

The king immediately ordered the wooden bridge, built across the Gotha Älf, a few miles above Gothenburg, to be burnt. The omission of the Danes in not securing this important bridge can only be accounted for by supposing that Gothenburg *was sold* ere it was summoned or invested. Gustavus, fully aware of its importance to the enemy, lost not a moment in reducing it to ashes; whilst redoubts were thrown up on every spot where the Danes might attempt to ford the river.

The courts of London and Berlin saw, with marked displeasure, this invasion of Sweden. And the crown prince of Denmark, just as he thought himself secure of victory, and of wresting West Gothland and Scania from Sweden, experienced a disappointment similar to that of Gustavus in Finland. Both those powers instructed their ministers to insist on the Danes agreeing to an armistice, preparatory to withdrawing from the Swedish territories: and in default of immediate compliance, Mr. Elliot

was instructed to menace Copenhagen with the vengeance of the British fleet, and the invasion of Holstein and Jutland by Prussia!

The presence of Mr. Elliot in Gothenburg was scarcely inferior as a stimulant to the courage and loyalty of the inhabitants, than that of Gustavus himself. On the 6th of October, being the day after the city had been summoned, Mr. Elliot wrote a third time, and in a still more urgent tone, to Prince Charles of Hesse, saying, "*At this very moment war is perhaps declared against Denmark by Prussia and England; but if your Highness will consent to what I propose, I will immediately dispatch couriers if possible to stop the invasion of Holstein by a Prussian army, and the sailing of our fleet. Read this letter, I entreat you, to the crown prince. It is written by the ambassador of the king his uncle, by a man wholly devoted to the prince, and who risks his own life to prevent the effusion of the blood of others.*"

It would have been extremely rash and ill-advised if Count Bernstorff had not counselled Denmark to yield to these demands, painful and humiliating as they were. The Russian armies were too fully occupied in Asia for Catherine to be able to spare any efficient aid; and the internal resources of Denmark were by no means equal to the defence of the Danish territories, by land and sea, against the combined attacks of Great Britain, Prussia, and Sweden. If, therefore, Count Bernstorff receded from the policy he had recently advised, it by no means follows that he was

in error. He had before him only a choice of evils: he chose that which appeared the lightest. That it militated against British politics, or British objects, is no proof of its deserving the censures lavished on it by the ministerial press. There was no room for any display of diplomatic talents on the part of Mr. Elliot. All he had to do was to menace Denmark with invasions by sea and land, if she did not order her armies to quit Sweden; and it is highly probable, if the same means had been used two months earlier, that the invasion might, with all facility, have been prevented. The armistice, which was first agreed to on the 9th October, for eight days, and next prolonged for a month, was extended to six months; and on the 12th November, Sweden was evacuated by the invading army.*

* "We see, in the miscellaneous transactions of the Swedish campaign, the various and mixed character of Gustavus exhibited upon an interesting theatre. The desire of annihilating, by one spirited and adventurous blow, the odious usurpation of Russia, was laudable and just. But the king did not nicely calculate the different parts of his system; and there is hardly one of his measures that might not have been better timed, or more judiciously executed. He had a great and animating cause to plead against the Czarina; but in his papers upon the subject he mixes right and wrong, truth and falsehood together, and plainly imagines that specious fiction might be of as much service to him as ingenuous truth. His talents, his eloquence, his mild and amiable manners, prepossess us in

Those events do not go to prove the impolicy of the Danish invasion; they merely evince that that awed by superior power, the Danish court was forced to succumb, and relinquish the prize just as it was almost within their grasp: the result was, that the Danes agreed, before winter, to evacuate the invaded provinces, which was accordingly performed. In all the train of embarrassing circumstances that ensued from the unprovoked invasion of Russian Finland by Gustavus, to the relief of Gothenburg, he displayed great wisdom, courage, address, and fortitude. By his personal bravery, his capacity to endure fatigue, his prompt and decisive measures, he defeated the views of his secret enemies, and depressed their hopes in proportion as he excited the spirits and confidence of his own troops.

his favor. We cannot refuse our compassion to a prince of a proud and independent spirit, intrigued against by a foreign minister, dictated to by a neighbour, betrayed by his subjects, deserted by his friends, invaded without hostility—unappalled by all these calamities, flying from one end of the kingdom to the other, rousing the poorest of his subjects to arms; penetrating through the midst of the enemy, and appearing as it were by enchantment to arrest his insulting progress. *But we feel the bitterest regret* to find such a character full of error and imperfection; opposing aristocracy, but grasping at despotism; full of luminous conceptions, but ignorant of the value of truth and integrity; and in all things guided, not by severe and inflexible, but by the precarious ebullition of a transitory feeling."—Vide *New Annual Register*, 1789: *British and Foreign History*, pp. 84, 85.

No sooner had the active and indefatigable king, by personal exertions and powerful mediation, rescued his dominions from the grasp of Denmark, than he bent all his faculties to punish the authors of the revolt in Finland, and by enacting restrictive laws prevent repetition. Gustavus reached his capital on the 20th of December, 1788, and was received with loud acclamations. Every where, in his progress through the provinces of his kingdom, he saw himself surrounded by devoted subjects, whose affectionate demonstrations of loyalty bespoke the enthusiasm that swelled their honest, unsuspecting bosoms.

Gustavus saw, with secret delight, this general and powerful expression of popular attachment. The use he resolved to make of it was not only to punish the Danes, and bring the mutinous officers of Finland to justice, but to widen the breach between the nobility and the peasantry, and, playing off the lowest class against the highest, establish a despotic throne on the utter subversion of popular institutions. Such was the cruelty, perfidy, and ingratitude of this royal dissembler; who, with less mental exertion than it required to support his tortuous purposes and high-wrought deceptions, might have lived and reigned happily and prosperously; and have descended to the tomb, adored by the existing generation, and regarded by posterity with that warm reverence with which the memory of the god-like ALFRED is yet cherished in Great Britain. If Gustavus had laid

the deep and broad foundations of a representative government in Sweden, and had destroyed every vestige of feudality, he would have rendered his throne more secure than when supported by penal laws, and forests of bayonets. The splendor of his talents renders his guilt the greater: for all those brilliant endowments of this monarch that dazzled and infatuated mankind, were but as the fabled *attractions* of a basilisk, that allured but to destroy; or the splendid exterior of some superb and highly decorated mausoleum, a magnificent outside that covered and concealed the disgusting rottenness that festered within!

Notwithstanding the duke of Sodermanland had become a party to the extraordinary capitulation of the revolted army of Finland, the leaders of the mutiny, Colonel Sprengporten,* Hestesko,

* Colonel, afterwards Gen. Sprengporten was a near blood relation to Baron de Sprengporten, minister for foreign affairs in 1788. It was the *treachery* of this person to the oligarchy, that procured the special favor of Gustavus the Third. Mr. Ristel, who well knew the persons whose characters he described wrote thus of Colonel Sprengporten, who was one of the few confidants of Gustavus, in preparing the revolution of 1772, namely:

"Every thing was satisfactory to Colonel Sprengporten, so long as the king had *new marks* of favor to bestow on him, and would take his advice *on every* occasion: but a trifling dispute he had with the officers in the guards, and which the king decided in their favor, because it was just, put him so much out of humour, that he forgot that the king's friendship was *now* more necessary to

and others, thought it advisable to fly for safety within the Russian lines. Meantime, Gustavus found means to arrest a considerable number of officers; and many others having surrendered voluntarily, he caused the whole to be tried before a grand court-martial, which he ordered

him than his to the king; and carried his resentment to an open rupture. He immediately resigned his place; and when the king would not receive his petition for that purpose, and *entreated* him to reflect more coolly on the subject, he left the king in a *fury*, and *flung the paper at the secretary of state*, whom he met on the staircase, and swore a great oath that he never more would put his foot within the king's palace, or have any thing to say to him! He went directly home, and retired to bed, where he remained for the most part of the time he had yet to live, a victim to the rage of disappointed pride, and the torments of a most violent temper.

"The king, justly displeased at his behaviour, granted him his request; and to avoid creating any jealousy in disposing of such a place, his majesty reserved it to himself, and has ever kept it afterwards; leaving all the emoluments to General Sprengporten as long as he lived, and since his death they have been appropriated to the use of the state.

"Thus one of the most active spirits in Sweden found himself reduced to a state of perfect idleness, in the prime of his political life.

"By anger and despair the general was deprived of his reason. He imagined that he felt his heart growing to a greater bulk, and was in perpetual apprehension it would burst. His pain, real or imaginary, was such, that he lay almost in a continual agony, and nothing could give him

to be held in the palace of Frederikshoff, formerly the town residence of Queen Louisa Ulrica.

Amongst the accused were many nobles, whose political opinions were obnoxious to Gustavus; and those were convicted by dubious, if not suborned evidence, and condemned to vindictive and disproportionate punishment. Many of those who had entered into a correspondence with the empress Catherine, were doomed to die; amongst these were the Sprengportens, and Hestesko, but they were already out of the reach of justice. Others were condemned to a destiny more severe; namely, to confinement for life, or for different

relief but music. He had, therefore, a concert every night, and spent most part of his income on splendid suppers, and presents to singers, with other musical virtuosos; but at last the moroseness of his temper became proof even against the charms of harmony. *He professed such a dislike to his fellow creatures, that he would, at any rate, be entirely out of their reach. He was conveyed, almost like a dead corse to a country house, where he enjoyed rather the horrors than the peace of solitude, till his sufferings put an end to his life.**

* What a picture do these sentences give of the interior of the Swedish court, under Gustavus the Third! This depraved monarch was addicted to a most detestable crime. It is known in Sweden, it was that propensity which filled the mind of General Sprengporten with indelible feelings of shame, remorse, and despair; and also gave that impulse of deadly hostility to others of his family, which led them, in Finland, to desert the king's standard and go over to the Russians.

long periods in remote fortresses; a punishment far more cruel than death without torture. Captain Ankarstrom, of the Swedish guards, was included in this class of convicted persons. Admiral Lilljehorn, and General Kaalbert were also condemned, but permitted to retain their pay. In his final decision on the cases of the condemned officers, Gustavus exhibited a strange mixture of apparent mercy and positive cruelty. He threw indelible disgrace on the members of the court, and sullied his own character by leaving too much reason for the world to suppose that he was guided by personal feelings, and made use of a venal and subservient court to destroy men, whose patriotism had led them to expose the errors of his unconstitutional reign.

The vast expenses of the late war, and the financial distress it occasioned, forced Gustavus, however reluctantly, to have recourse to a diet for a supply, rather than risk an open rebellion by arbitrary taxation. During his late tour, the king had too successfully tampered with many of the leading characters amongst the three inferior orders. His minions and agents, by flattery, by promises, and by gold, had wrought on a decided majority to give an unqualified pledge of support, in the ensuing diet, to every thing that the king might desire of them. Thus fully prepared to triumph over the nobles, he convened a diet, the first meeting of which took place at Stockholm, on the 2d of February, 1789. The king's speech

was more than commonly eloquent, and admirably calculated to call forth every latent spark of national pride, and direct it against his foes, foreign and domestic. He was *lavish* in his encomiums on the burgers, the clergy, and the peasantry; and he intimated that for *the sake of unanimity*, he was willing to sacrifice every vindictive feeling. If this were held out as a hint to the nobles, it failed of its desired effect. They were firm, haughty, and inflexible in their resolution, if possible, to controul his ambitious projects. An address, prepared by some agent of the crown, was voted by the three inferior states, conveying their thanks to Gustavus for his recent and great exertions in defence of the kingdom. The nobility, however, peremptorily refused their concurrence, unless accompanied by an additional clause, recommending the conclusion of an immediate peace. On the fifth day of the sittings, the nobles voted an address to the king, calling upon him to institute prosecutions against the authors of various libels, which had been written, relative to the revolt in Finland, and in favor of the sovereign, and to promote the extension of the prerogatives of the crown.

The power of the diet, in all cases of secret discussion, was delegated to a committee, in the composition of which, in the present instance, the crown had too much secret influence. The number of members was thirty. Conscious of the advantages possessed by the king by means of this com-

mittee, the nobles proposed to limit its authority to the discussion of such subjects alone as should be contained in previous instructions from each of the four estates. Gustavus objected to a proceeding that was perfectly constitutional, because it would otherwise have defeated all his deep laid schemes. He therefore commanded Count Löwenhaupt not to put this question to the vote ! Obedient to his sovereign, the obsequious marshal obeyed, and thereby drew down such a storm of indignation on himself, that he declined presiding on the second agitation of the subject. The majority then appointed another marshal, and proceeded to vote the restrictions; by which measure the secret committee were precluded from deciding on the question of war or peace, or meddling with the finances; and the nobles directed their representatives in the committee to report to the diet all such topics as did not, from their nature, require absolute secrecy.

These measures on the side of the nobles, gave rise to such determined opposition in the inferior classes, that all public business seemed to be suspended. Secretly prompted by the king, and aiming at intimidation of the most atrocious kind, the peasants advised his majesty to call in the volunteers of Dalcarlia to the *relief* of the citizens of Stockholm! Those resolute but ignorant rustics, were already arrived within one day's march of the metropolis. Matters being thus prepared to support by force the tyranny Gustavus was bent

on perpetrating, he summoned the four orders of the diet to attend him in the grand saloon of the states. The order was obeyed: the king artfully complimented the zeal and loyalty of the inferior orders, and publicly thanked them for their zeal in assisting him to relieve the distresses of the kingdom. He censured the nobles in the severest terms, for the unceremonious manner in which they had treated Count Löwenhaupt, commanding them to erase the offensive resolutions from their journals, and then to appoint a deputation, at the head of which he expected to see Count Fersen and Baron de Geer, for the express purpose of making a public apology, and what he termed, a signal reparation, to their insulted president!—Such was the mode by which Gustavus reminded the fallen nobles of those indignities which, in other times, they had unfeelingly exercised on his father, Adolf Frederik. The king singled out Count Fersen and Baron de Geer by name, and told them sternly, he considered their treatment of the marshal as a personal insult to himself, whom in their sittings, the count represented. Looking fiercely at Count Axel Fersen, the king exclaimed with great vehemence, "*You have repeatedly shaken the throne of my late father! At your peril dare to touch the sceptre of his son!*"

The count, not at all dismayed, attempted to defend his own conduct; and several other nobles rose to speak in his behalf; but the king would not deign to listen; on the contrary, he

disdainfully waved his hand as a signal for the nobles to retire. Reluctantly and sullenly they withdrew to their usual place of meeting. Count Fersen then proposed that the nobles should look over their journals, to discover, if possible, in what the insult consisted, of which so much had been said; asserting, that they had only used the strongest arguments they could find, which was their unquestionable right, and therefore they could not think of making any apology.

A paper was then produced, signed by nearly forty nobles, specifying several acts of rudeness towards the marshal. Count Fersen arose and denounced those persons by whom it was signed, as false and suborned accusers, and challenged them to support their charge by evidence. Not one could be found hardy enough to make the attempt. Some of those who had signed asked permission to erase their names; others pleaded *inebriety*; or that they knew not the contents of the paper, or had been asked so to do by persons whom they could not disoblige. The nobles, instead of yielding, seemed more determined than ever to persevere in their opposition to the despotic measures of the king; whilst nothing could exceed the base subserviency of the other three orders, which literally outran his wishes. Elated by the insidious compliments paid them by Gustavus, and vain of the confidence reposed in their courage and fidelity, in a hot fit of loyalty, the armed burgers of Stockholm waited but for

a signal to undertake any thing that was required. The king having, on the twentieth, resolved to arrest the refractory nobles; the burgers were ready to fly to execute his will. It did not, however, prove quite so easy or pleasant a task as the good citizens had expected. Colonel Almfelt, who was once a court *minion,* asked a Captain Oldenberg, a *lace-weaver,* in a firm determined tone, to produce the king's order. The captain, rather perplexed, was forced to own that his orders were merely verbal. "I have lately had the honor of commanding the king's horse guards," said Colonel Almfelt sternly, "and I do not intend to suffer myself to be arrested by any dressed-out shop-keeper. Begone, sir, instantly! or I'll blow out your brains." Not wishing to push matters to that extent, the officious sycophant peaceably retired, happy to give up the commission to an officer of the dragoons. Count Fersen was arrested by a party of *gentlemen pensioners.* The court of his hotel was crowded with spectators of all ranks. It was whispered to him that he had a number of friends at hand, if he chose to make resistance. He replied with great calmness, *my conscience is clear, and I fear nothing.* Count Horn, Chief Justice Lilljestraal, Baron de Geer, M'Clean, and many others, were taken without difficulty. The noble captives were carried to the palace of *Frederikshoff,* that had lately been repaired to receive the officers concerned in the late mutiny, and the court-martial that was to try them. The rooms in which the

nobles were lodged, were splendidly furnished; and their tables supplied from the king's kitchen, a favor that was rejected by most of the prisoners, who chose rather to supply themselves. Count Brahe and General Baron Pechlin were allowed to remain in their own houses. At first they were closely watched; a precaution that was altogether needless, as no one offered to fly from this atrocious act of despotism. Far from being appalled, the nobles were more vehement than ever in their reproaches and menaces: and had they not so shamefully abused the power they formerly usurped, when, with one hand they crushed the crown, and with the other plundered and oppressed the people, the king had not dared to have treated them with such indignity. The nobles had, in former diets, trampled on the rights and liberties of the people with much contempt; and they in consequence had become odious to the nation: yet such was the complexion of this outrage, that Gustavus found it advisable to order a report of the state of the metropolis to be laid before him every six hours; it appearing probable, that those who had no manner of respect for the nobles, as a body, were inclined to draw the sword against the despotism by which they were oppressed. During their confinement, they spoke of the king in terms of undisguised contempt and abhorrence, openly accusing him of crimes of so polluted a nature, that even their names cannot be recorded. Affecting magnanimity where selfish

policy and conscious guilt regulated his conduct, Gustavus ordered the secretary not to take cognizance of such expressions. Some of the nobles even presented written charges, which they were entreated to retract. The absence of the servile marshal, in some measure, calmed their minds. Colonel Lilljehorn, the vice-marshal, behaved with great circumspection; but their indignation was not to be appeased. Nor was this spirit manifested in the house of nobles only. Several young noblemen of the first families resigned their employments at court, and in the army; amongst whom were the Counts de la Gardie, Ribbing, and Stenbock. The drawing-room was deserted by the ladies; and the palace of the king became, in a manner, suddenly deserted; all which privations Gustavus endured with admirable philosophy, so much was he delighted with his '*patrician menagerie*,' as he called Frederikshoff, whilst it served as a prison for the confinement of senators and nobles!

This outrage forms an indelible blot in the annals of his reign. It was judiciously observed by an able political writer,* that Gustavus might safely enough have trusted this act of vengeance to the burgers and peasants. He was, however, unwilling to part with so dangerous an authority. He feared "*they might understand liberty too well, and love it too much.*" Gustavus was apprehensive, that when they had deprived the nobles of usurped privileges,

* See the New Annual Register, 1790, pp. 59, 60.

they might demur to surrender the prize that was lawfully their own property, to be used for the increase of the prerogatives of the crown!

The day following the arbitrary arrest of the nobles, amongst whom were included both senators, and members of the secret committee, Gustavus went to meet what was properly to be no longer termed, the assembled estates. He gravely affected to submit to the *consideration* of legislators, of whom many were intimidated and more suborned—the law of '*security* and *union*.' Its '*security*' consisted in lifting the king above the constitution; and its '*union*,' in concentrating all manner of political power in the hands of the monarch! It conferred on the king, the right to declare war and make peace. Future diets were restricted from debating on any subject not previously sanctioned, and presented for their deliberation by the king! It annihilated the senate, an institution, that dishonored as it stood, first by its usurpations, and lastly, by its subserviency—was still venerable in the eyes of the Swedes, having existed almost beyond the reach of history; and on many great emergencies, having rescued their country from situations of great peril and calamity.

The king was competent to cast the chief nobles of Sweden into prison; but he could not intimidate the remainder to permit that pliant tool of despotism, Count Löwenhaupt, to preside as marshal of the mutilated wreck of the peerage. Their language towards the king teemed with

sarcasm and insult. The act of '*union* and *security*' was received with every mark of disdain; nor, during three weeks time, would they take it into consideration. When the king sent a message requiring their decision, the act was almost unanimously rejected. The most respectable of the nobles, finding the popular voice so decidedly against them, and the three inferior orders blindly devoted to the king, and ready to go any lengths to gratify their spleen against the peers, retired to their estates. On the evening of the royal sitting, a meeting of the nobles was suddenly convened, to elect a new secret committee, which, proceeding to immediate operations, usurping the name of the nation to sanction their criminal subserviency, illegally assumed the responsibility of a debt contracted by the crown, amounting to five millions sterling; and they voted additional taxes, amounting to 500,000*l.* per annum; with these unprincipled and venal concessions, the secret committee terminated their unhallowed labors, with a report to each of the four orders of the diet; and their resolutions, which were in fact the resolutions of the king, as a matter of course, were instantly adopted by the clergy, burgers, and peasants. During all this time, the nobles whom Gustavus had illegally arrested, remained in confinement. At the latter end of March, the nobles being deserted by one part of their leaders, and deprived of the talents of those who were confined, Gustavus obtained, by a kind

of compromise, an address from the few who yet attended the sitting. To please themselves, they inserted a clause, recommending the king to make peace: to please the king, they pledged the nobility of Sweden to support the war, in case of '*inevitable necessity*,' of which necessity Gustavus was to be the judge! On the 27th of April, Gustavus went in person to the house of nobles, to wring from the feeble remains of that once formidable assembly, a confirmation of the resolutions of the three inferior orders. With regiments of soldiers and parks of artillery at his command, this king was the gaoler of one part of the legislature, and the corrupter and suborner of the others. He had degraded the nation by elevating his own power above that of the law; and was mean enough to challenge the imprisoned and insulted peers *to argue* the point with him!—a mode of triumph that was alike pusillanimous and cruel. He afterwards boasted that in three hours time he had induced the nobles to consent to propositions, on which, for months together, they had been deliberating to no purpose! The dissolution of this degenerate assembly took place next day. The three inferior orders, in their zeal to elevate the crown, lost sight of national liberty. When, by a formal deputation, the resentful and illiterate clowns, communicated to the nobles their memorable resolutions, and pressed the peers to sanction those measures, Count Axel Fersen

shook his head, and with a look strongly expressive of pity, said, loud enough to be heard by the deputies—"*Poor men! they must be pardoned, for they know not what they are doing.*" These apparently benevolent expressions, were in reality nothing more than the whining cant of a fallen tyrant. The *inferior* orders, as the bulk of every nation is injuriously termed, certainly acted irrationally in losing sight of an opportunity, whereby they might have reduced the exorbitant power of the crown or of the nobles, and have established the liberty of their country. They had the power in their own hands, and they neglected to use it: they were at once the victims of aristocratical oppression, and regal fraud. For the sake of beholding their former tyrants humbled and oppressed, they neglected their duty to God and their country, and permitted the sovereign to approach very near to the establishment of a despotic monarchy. But still, exclusive of the gratification of a rancorous hatred, that had been generated by ages of oppression and misrule, *they gained something by the change;* some of the bonds fastened on their natural rights by the feudal system, being relaxed. Count Axel Fersen was unquestionably a nobleman of great endowments, and high repute as a statesman. Prior to the revolution of 1772, he formed one of the main pillars of the reigning aristocracy. If he had coolly and candidly examined the cause of

the painful and humiliating condition in which the Swedish nobles found themselves, he must have traced its source to their notorious abuse of the usurped power they had acquired; and of whom, to borrow the words of Mr. Leckie, * it might with justice be observed, that as they had for the promotion of their own selfish objects chose to destroy their means of defence, they had no right to complain of being finally deprived of a power which they had not the discretion to use.

It has been too often observed, to need further repetition, that the king was one of the most profound dissimulators in existence; and it is extremely probable that he did not believe there was one honest nobleman to be found in Sweden; or that any public character was proof against flattery, gold, or intimidation. This degraded opinion of the privileged order, and the disgrace into which the nobility had fallen, encouraged him to adopt those measures that can never be justified; and for *legalising* of which, their own sanction was necessary: even this extreme act of self-debasement the king found means to carry by a suborned and intimidated majority, composed of the dregs of the nobility who remained in the diet; to the most powerful of whom he paid personal visits, bestowing marks of favor, and protesting with all possible fervor, that in the harsh measures to which he had had recourse, he had

* Vide Balance of Power in Europe, p. 339.

been exclusively animated by regard to the welfare of Sweden, and not influenced by selfish or ambitious projects! Nor was it in vain that Gustavus whispered in their ear, that *if the nobles did not enjoy as many and as valuable privileges under the new order of things, as under that which had passed away, never to return; it must be their own fault, as the door stood wide open to admit them to a full participation.* Eagerly panting after place and power, unrestrained by any honorable feelings, the venal nobles readily took the hint, sanctioned by their suffrages the king's illegal proceedings, and like fawning spaniels licking the foot by which they had been spurned, they became the creatures of the crown, and thankfully accepted the crumbs that fell from the royal table! According to the author of a portraiture of the court of Sweden, * the great ex-senator, Count Fersen, declared that if he had been king of Sweden, and circumstanced like Gustavus, he would have acted precisely in the same manner! Within three days after the dissolution of this assembly of corrupt and servile legislators, a royal proclamation was issued, by which the oppressed farmers and labourers were released from more of the burthens and restrictions, that during many ages had been slowly and imperceptibly imposed by a cruel, unpitying, and encroaching aristocracy. To divide, weaken, and humble that once formidable phalanx; to oppose

* Mr. C. F. Ristel.

to their power the growing importance of the middle orders; to animate the loyalty, or, more correctly, to stimulate the prejudices of the rude, illiterate, and much injured peasantry, the king surrendered this further portion of those destructive and degrading usurpations that formed the broad basis, and deep foundations of feudal tyranny. Those concessions would have been truly honorable to the character of the king, if they had proceeded from a benevolent source; but they were the result of cold and calculating policy; and if the nobles had proved obsequious as Gustavus desired them, with equal facility and indifference he would have extended their odious privileges at the expense of the population; for he was radically the enemy of democratic institutions, the representative system, and popular rights.

The king having, by the means, and in the manner described, triumphed over a dispirited and degraded aristocracy; he paid the most serious attention to the approaching campaigns. This monarch might, and in common prudence he ought before this, to have made peace with Russia; since every chance of reconquering the provinces that Sweden had formerly been compelled to cede to Russia, had totally vanished; and there was no longer any rational object for which the war ought to have been continued. Gustavus had originally resolved on this war from motives of avarice and ambition. The wild and visionary hopes in which he had indulged, having

all terminated in disappointment, he still resolved to persevere as the subsidised ally of the Grand Signior. The courts of Great Britain and Prussia, anxious to render Sweden subservient to their political views, had recourse to every expedient likely to strengthen this warlike disposition and unwise decision of the king; filling his romantic mind with the most extravagant expectations, whence resulted, in the first instance, a callous and criminal indifference to the additional miseries he was about to inflict upon his subjects, and ultimately, disappointment and ruin.

About this period the influence of Prussian politics at the court of St. James's was predominant over national interests, and liberal principles.* It was *that* influence which encouraged the ambitious, yet weak princess, the wife of William the Fifth, Stadholder of Holland, to urge her husband to the commission of those unpopular measures that endangered his power and even his existence; and who next influenced her despotic brother to pour a strong Prussian army into the United Provinces, to bow the neck of the Belgic Republicans. This nefarious enterprize, the court of London

* Vide New Annual Register, 1790, 1791, and 1792, &c.— "I always was at a loss to conceive what the warlike preparations of Great Britain and Prussia *meant*, and am inclined to think that they had a reference, ultimately, not to Turkey but to POLAND."— *(Letters from Scandinavia, vol. II. p. 217.)* Thus broadly implying that the court of London secretly sanctioned the King of Prussia's selfish views on that devoted kingdom; a thing almost incredible.

fully sanctioned; and its result, which teemed with future calamity, so delighted the admirers of German discipline, that the influence of Prussia became in a manner boundless. It was of vast importance to the views of Prussia, that Denmark should make peace with Sweden, to leave the latter power at liberty to combine all his forces by sea and land in active operations against Russia, in order to embarrass the Empress and cramp her exertions in Asia; which consideration, probably, was the real source of the extraordinary instructions given to Mr. Hugh Elliot, and of the scenes that followed in Sweden, wherein the latter acted rather in the spirit of an armed partisan, than as the ambassador of a neutral state.

Whilst the insidious policy of the chief of the House of Brandenburg, backed by the preponderating weight of British influence, induced Gustavus the Third to pursue a line of conduct totally incompatible with the welfare of his subjects; the same crafty prince, in all probability prevented him from availing himself of the opportunity that now offered, of attempting to resuscitate Poland, and rescue that injured nation from the trammels of Russia, and the despotism of the most radically cruel and wicked aristocracy, by which any European kingdom had ever been plundered, insulted, and degraded.

To the vices and follies of that aristocracy, all the calamities that weighed down her former fame and greatness, were owing; from that poisoned

spring all her miseries flowed. According to the statement of a British traveller of deserved celebrity,* the court of London, soon after the accession of George the Third, had a powerful and secret influence in raising the fortunes of the young Count Poniatowski, who appears in his early life to have been used as a political agent by the British minister† at the court of Petersburg; which circumstance, paved his way to an intimacy with the Grand Duke, afterwards Peter the Third, and his frail and fair wife, the celebrated Catherine the Second. The Grand Duke became the patron and protector of Count Poniatowski, who returned his friendship by forming an adulterous connection with his wife! To avoid shame and punishment, to gratify her ambition and amorous propensities, Catherine deprived her lord and husband of his life and crown, and exhibited his corse to the public, that every one might be convinced how very *fairly* the deceased monarch had come by his death; whilst a guard of grenadiers opposed loaded muskets and fixed bayonets to the breast of every intruder, who might dare to approach with a view to investigate the actual state of the royal corse!

Having thus got rid of an unmanageable and troublesome husband, and seated herself on the throne yet reeking with his blood, the Empress

* The Rev. Mr. Coxe.—Vide his Travels, Vol. III. p. 6, &c.

† Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. Vide Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. Vol. I., p. 20 and 21.

Catherine thought of her paramour, Count Poniatowski, not to recall him to partake of her embraces, for the gigantic Orloff supplied his place as a lover, but, as a fit instrument, if placed on the throne of Poland, to complete the degradation and ruin of his native country, and amalgate its territories with those belonging to Russia.

Under the baneful and terrific influence of that blood-stained woman, on the demise of Augustus the Third, in 1763, Count Poniatowski was put in nomination for the crown, and five thousand Russian troops encamped on the plains of Vola,* *secured* his tranquil election by overawing his adversaries; and the venal and suborned nobles, who voluntarily submitted themselves to the Russian yoke, sanctioned by their votes the legitimacy of his pretensions to the crown. The accomplished and graceful minion of Catherine being thus obtruded on the throne of Poland, he was crowned, but not in the usual place; and, as if it were intended as an omen that during his degraded sway the kingdom should pass away, he would not assume the ancient regal costume, but, under an idle pretext of regard to his health, arrayed himself in modern and more elegant robes, made after a foreign fashion. This act rendered him odious to those who think with the Dutch, that the observance of ancient national usages is essential to a

* A plain, near Warsaw, where the election took place.—Coxe, vol. I. p. 23.

nation's honour. Mr. Coxe imputed this impolitic act to the effects of personal vanity: more probably it flowed from the positive command of the foreign princess, to whose power he owed his elevation, and promised implicit obedience.

The nervous and elegant pen of Mr. Coxe has in vain endeavoured to render the memory of this nominal monarch less odious, by imputing the calamities, that immediately after his election overwhelmed and devastated Poland, to the effects of "*the factions of a* TURBULENT PEOPLE."*

* "The description Tacitus has left us of the tribes from whom the Poles are descended, the analogy of other northern nations, and the general tenor of the Polish history, tend to prove that the great body of the people enjoyed an high degree of freedom, as well as a considerable degree of influence on the measures of government."

"The feudal system was introduced into Poland about the year 820; and with it, in all probability, hereditary aristocracy.—The effects of the institution (feudality) were not immediately felt, and therefore were not foreseen. By the continued exercise of command, the nobles ultimately regarded the peasants as *their property.* The difficulty of resisting an authority, which being at first but little felt, arose, by SLOW *accessions and* DISTANT ENCROACHMENTS, *by degrees broke the spirit of the people, and disposed them to* UNRESERVED SUBMISSION.

"The people first felt the consequences of these institutions, in the extinction of their political privileges: they were *excluded* from the diet of election; the abridgment of personal liberty quickly followed; oppressions were multiplied; they were *gradually* deprived of the rights of men, as well as of citizens; the law was too weak, or too corrupt to afford them relief; and they sunk into a state of servitude, from which they have never since emerged.—Casimir the Great restored the peasants to the protection of the law, and restrained the

The '*people,*' in the natural sense of the word, were not recognised in the anomalous government of Poland. The '*people,*' were considered as aliens and outcasts in their native land: they were looked on with scorn and disdain, scarcely acknowledged as human beings, and, for successive centuries, held in feudal bondage and mental darkness. The only influence of the laws made by their oppressors, was to render more complete the degradation of the people, and their state of slavery more

cruel tyranny of the nobles. His humane attention to that unhappy class of men, led the *nobility* to ridicule him, as they thought, by the appellation of "*King of the Peasants.*" By raising the mass of the people to the rank of freemen, he gave them an interest in the welfare of the state. *Had* the prudent and benevolent spirit of his laws been adhered to, Poland must have still continued a great and flourishing nation.—But, after the death of Casimir, the peasants were quickly thrown back into that state of misery and degradation from which he had raised them; their situation even became more deplorable and hopeless, from the attempt that had been made to relieve them; their masters strove to secure their future servitude by all the formalities of legal enactments; pains and penalties were denounced, without limit, against all who should dare to think themselves entitled to the common rights of human nature; their lives and properties were again subjected to the caprices of every gentleman (a nobleman, in Poland,) who chose to indemnify their masters, by a trivial fine, as a compensation for their murder."—Vide Letters from Scandinavia, vol. II. pp. 284, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 294 and 6.—Such is the account given by all writers, and even by the Reverend Mr. Coxe himself, in other parts of his valuable work: it is therefore evident, that the ruin and the fall of Poland were owing to the crimes of the aristocracy, whose overgrown power was fatal to the wretched nation by which it was nourished.

hopeless. The land was without value, except what it derived from their toil, and they were, *by law*, excluded from all manner of property in the soil they tilled; and by their masters merely estimated as so much live stock, and bought, sold, or bartered away by tale, in common with the horse, the ox, or the swine. There never was a complete despotism without the aid of priestcraft. Obedient to the haughty nobles, the servile, ignorant, and intolerant priests, exerted an almost boundless power over a nation of illiterate slaves, and too successfully aided in rivetting the shackles of their merciless tyrants, by teaching the much wronged vassals to believe, that in God himself originated their hard servitude and bitter subjection. The priests not only preached up passive obedience and non-resistance to the suffering millions, but even commanded them, in the name of their Creator, to love and honour their cruel task masters, against whose power they had no earthly shield; against whose injustice there was no appeal, and from whose fierce and implacable vengeance, except the grave—there was no safe place of refuge. No! it was not '*in the factions of a turbulent* PEOPLE,' that the ruin and misery of Poland originated, but in the criminality of a remorseless and rapacious aristocracy, who clothed with patents, titles, privileges, immunities; and armed with absolute power, committed with impunity, those delinquencies by which their native country was dishonoured and destroyed.

In the rapid descent of Poland that followed the elevation of Poniastowski, an opportunity presented itself, that but for the imbecility and perfidy of the king, might by possibility, have led to its final rescue from foreign thraldom and domestic slavery. This dawn of happier days beamed for a moment on the gloomy horizon of Poland, that had so long been clouded by portentous storms; and occurred when Catherine the Second was involved in war with Turkey and Sweden, and was also menaced by Great Britain and Prussia; which events led to the removal of the Russian troops; and the phantom of a king, who was so destitute of regal power that he could not nominate the pages who waited at his table, and who turned pale at a frown from Count Stackelberg,—was relieved by the recal of that minister.

Poland then seemed once more to breathe again; and if Stanislaus had cherished any love for his native country,—if his mind had been visited by any deep workings of remorse, this was the moment he would have seized, to have shaken off for ever the iron yoke of foreign servitude which he had himself been instrumental in establishing. But no such honourable feelings existed in his bosom. Thousands of ruined and degraded nobles openly avowed their errors, and could not conceal their sorrow for the wicked part they had played: the king alone was the

faithful partisan of that lewd woman, whose gold and whose armies had placed a crown upon his head. A strong and pure flame of patriotism arose, and rapidly gained ground in Poland; and many a repentant nobleman made an honest tender of his life and fortune to the crown; but him who wore it was the secret enemy that rendered abortive this last effort which was too feeble to avail, and came too late! It might have had the desired effect in 1772; but Catherine the Second thoroughly knew the character of the man in whose feeble and irresolute hand she had placed the sceptre of Poland. What avails it that his mind was as highly cultivated as Mr. Coxe has described, or his manners ever so mild or graceful, if he were destitute of honesty, courage, fortitude, in short, of every other essential quality of a good sovereign? He certainly had not the courage—and even his inclination may be doubted, to serve Poland; and during its last effort, under the mask of a friendly feeling towards the republic, he secretly abetted the plans of Catherine, and accelerated the period of its final destruction.*

* It was whispered that Sergius Soltikoff was a favoured lover when Catherine was grand duchess. Beloved and happy, he became indiscreet and excited jealousy. The Empress Elizabeth civily banished him from her court, and he died in exile; and STANISLAUS PONIATOWSKI soon caused him to be forgotten. He was at that time envoy from Poland to the court of Petersburg. Being handsome, gallant, and lively, he engaged the affections of the young

Whilst a ray of hope yet beamed on Poland, and the war raged with inveterate fierceness between Russia, and Sweden, and Turky, a magnificent embassy was sent from Poland to Constantinople; but owing to the incapacity of the Turkish ministers, and the secret intrigues excited to defeat

Catherine. Though he was but little addicted to jealousy; preferring his bottle, his pipe, his soldiers, and mistress, to his lovely wife, Peter the Third sometimes interrupted them. It is well known that Catherine, when seated on the imperial throne, rewarded her lover with the crown of Poland. His disastrous reign proved that love in bestowing a crown is as blind as fortune in distributing wealth, places, and titles. If Stanislaus was one of the most amiable of men, he was the weakest of kings. How has it been possible that so pusilanimous a being should have been able to gain the respect of all Europe? By whom has he not been admired? yet, between his sentiments and his conduct, what contradictions? At the last diet, the generous nuncio Kamar said publicly to the king, "What! Sire! are you no longer the same, who said to us when signing the constitution of the 3rd of May, *may my hand perish rather than sign any thing contrary to this!* All Europe charges you with being Catherine's king! Justify her, at least, for having put the sceptre into your hand, by shewing that you are capable of wielding it."—Yet, only a few days afterwards the unworthy Stanislaus signed that compact, which, for a second time, dismembered Poland, and by which he formally acknowledged himself *factious* and *rebellious* in establishing a rational constitution, which gave him as a king more authority, and promised his nation more happiness and freedom. If, at this crisis, he had abdicated his throne, he would have excited some sympathy; but he had neither the courage to sustain his rank as a king, nor to resign his crown. He chose rather to drag on an old age of disgrace, and go to die at Petersburg in a state of humiliation. He was the only one of her

its object, it failed of producing any beneficial effect. This was the moment in which the king of Sweden might have interfered with eclat and effect in the affairs of Poland. No where could a Swedish army have made so deep an impression

favourites, whom Catherine having exalted, she felt a pleasure in humbling. Fidelity and gratitude, which appeared for a moment to contend in the heart of the king with gratitude and submission, were crimes in the eyes of the haughty Tzaritza. In love she was indulgent, but in politics implacable; ambition was her ruling passion, and she made the lover subservient to the empress.

"When the Polish nuncio Kamar addressed the feeble king in the manner described; in the midst of his spirited speech he was seized and carried off by those Russian satellites Rothenfold and Pistor, worthy counterparts of the barbarians Kretschetnikof and Kakofsky. Heavens! what names! yet those who owned them were still more harsh and rugged; and these were the two individuals who, in one campaign, conquered Poland, and overturned the constitution of the 3rd of May, which all the nation seemed to defend! Kosciusko! where wert thou at that moment?

"It was not without reluctance that the king of Poland signed the fatal deed. When Sievers conjured him to repair to Grodno to head the confederates, he said, *I will never be guilty of such baseness!* Let the empress take back her crown! Let her send me to Siberia! or let me quit my kingdom on foot with my staff in my hand; but I will never sully my honour! He was *confined*, *kept fasting*, *threatened*, and then he placed himself at the head of the confederacy! It was Colonel Stackelberg, nephew to Ingelstrom, who finally carried to him the treaty of partition. On reading it, Stanislaus exclaimed—"*Oh, sir! have mercy on me! let me not be forced to sign my own dishonour!*" Stackelberg told him, that after this sacrifice he might enjoy a happy and tranquil old age; wiping his eyes, the king replied—"Well, I will hope so!" but his niece entering, he again wept bitterly with her.

on Russia, as it might in Poland.* But here the treacherous councils of Catherine's secret agent, General Baron Armfelt, interfered; who held up before the eyes of the brave and chivalrous king, the fascinating and illusive prospect of acquiring immortal fame by the destruction of the imperial naval establishments at Cronstadt, and the capture of Petersburg! This splendid illusion drove Poland from his mind; and whilst the royal Swede was thus led astray by inordinate ambition, and an immoderate desire of fame as a warrior, the Prussian monarch never lost sight of his darling project of dismembering Poland, and attaining the largest possible share of its remaining territories. It was to accomplish this design that the selfish and perfidious monarch raised powerful

"During the reign of the Emperor Paul, that strange mortal used to amuse himself with parading in the state apartments with the imperial crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and the imperial mantle on his shoulders, as the Jewish kings are represented in old tapestry. The unhappy Stanislaus was in the emperor's train: bending under the weight of years and sorrow: whilst three or four hundred court slaves were kissing the hand of Paul, he retired to a room to rest himself by sitting down: the emperor perceiving that the ex-king had presumed to seat himself during this *august ceremony*, he sent an aid de camp to ORDER him to keep on his legs." Vide Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg, vol. i. p. 100 a 103.

* The author of the Characters, &c. of the Court of Sweden, remarked that a far more advantageous use might have been made of the army employed in Finland, if it had been landed in Livonia. This omission showed a great deficiency as to political foresight in the king.

armies which he marched towards Poland, pretending they were meant to act against the Russians! Perhaps he even stipulated that Gustavus the Third should attack Russian Finland, whilst he marched his numerous and well appointed armies to invade the dominions of Russia in Poland! Gustavus, with all his wit and talent, became the dupe of a brother monarch of far inferior intellects, and frittered away in unavailing enterprizes a potent army amidst the rocks and wildernesses of Finland. The king of Prussia* deliberately violated his engagements with the Polish patriots; arranged his differences with the empress; and, in conjunction with Russia and Austria, seized upon the remaining territories of Poland; whilst Sweden, by the manœuvres recited, was prevented from availing herself of the opportunities that presented themselves, from interfering to avert its fate.

Returning from a digression occasioned by the intimate connexion of the subjects it embraces, with

* "It is difficult to penetrate into the secret motives of arbitrary princes; and hence it must be allowed, a great part of histories, especially of those that aim chiefly at amusing the reader, by pretending to account for every thing, is wholly chimerical. Yet, judging of the court of Berlin, by a fair and obvious analogy, it is not unreasonable to conclude that in encouraging the formation of this new constitution, it had in view, according to their usual policy, to excite the jealousy and resentment of Russia; thus to prepare for a second and complete partition of Poland."—Letters from Scandinavia, vol. II. note to p. 420 and 421.

the great changes that have since taken place in the relative influence of each of the northern courts; the author proceeds to state, that as the spring of 1789 approached, the courts of Sweden and Denmark seemed equally desirous of protracting, or rather renewing the war, that was suspended through the imperious commands of Great Britain and Prussia. During the existence of the armistice between the two belligerent states, a plot was discovered by the court of Denmark, formed, as Count Bernstorff publicly affirmed, by a Swedish nobleman, and under the sanction of Gustavus the Third, and his minister at Copenhagen, to destroy, by means of mercenary incendiaries, the Russian and Danish ships of war then lying in that port. The crown prince complained with equal justice and indignation of this breach of public faith, and sarcastically remarked, that a monarch who was capable of acting in this atrocious manner, had no right to censure the *want of morality* in others. The resentful spirit of the young Danish prince was caught by the nation, which appeared anxious to chastise the Swedes, and cheerfully to contribute the means of carrying on the war with vigour.

Meanwhile, feeling confident in the amplitude of his power, and panting for glory and revenge, Gustavus the Third threw every obstacle he could devise to frustrate the pending negociations; and he omitted no opportunity of manifesting the contempt he felt towards the crown prince, his

nephew. But, from the powerful influence of England and Prussia, each of the angry chiefs was compelled to succumb; and the last armistice ended in a compulsory and unwelcome peace between Sweden and Denmark, on the principle of the *statu quo ante bellum.*

It is exceedingly probable, that in the coarse treatment experienced by Denmark, the cabinet of London wished to make that nation feel its resentment for the wound its pride had received by the celebrated armed neutrality of the northern nations; and, although Gustavus was apparently the favored party, yet, he too was made to writhe under the pressure of superior power; and when he haughtily declared to Mr. Elliot he would not allow any foreign dictation, nor be compelled to make peace with the Danes, the Englishman is said to have bluntly replied, that if his majesty was determined on resuming the war with Denmark, he had orders to quit his court, and announce the immediate commencement of hostilities against Sweden! Notwithstanding the maturity of age, the wider range of experience, and the high repute of Gustavus for political sagacity, the conduct of his young nephew at this crisis, was marked by superior dignity and consistency; displaying a more powerful and elevated mind than was allowed by the ministerial writers in London, who affected to consider the nephew of their sovereign as a driveller and an ideot. When he found that he could not gratify his own and the nation's wishes to con-

tinue the war against Sweden, without increasing the number and power of his enemies, he agreed to sign a treaty of peace; but he positively refused to ratify the treaty till the empress of Russia had formally released him from his alliance with her; for which purpose, the armistice of 1788, that expired in May, 1789, was prolonged for two months. Flattered by this mark of respect and proof of sincerity, the empress magnanimously released Denmark from its alliance with Russia, and, as far as externals went, peace was restored between Sweden and Denmark.

The Ministerial press in London, imputed this concession on the part of Catherine the Second, to the dread inspired by the menaces of Great Britain and Prussia: although that ill-sorted alliance might have *some* weight, the empress, probably was suspicious that notwithstanding the near blood relationship that existed between the King of England and the Crown Prince of Denmark, the ministers would have no objection to the plunder of the Danish naval arsenals, and making prize of the Danish ships of war. She, therefore, yielded without hesitation, to the lesser evil, consoling herself with the hope that if England and Prussia had deprived her of a valuable and honest ally; by the aid of General Armfelt, and other secret agents, she should soon be able to get rid of Sweden as a foe, and thus frustrate the great and favorite object of Great Britain and Prussia. There is no doubt but Gustavus felt himself

greatly piqued at the domineering tone assumed by Mr. Elliot, whose services, in preventing the capture of Gottenborg, were quickly forgotten. Gustavus had also personal motives for feeling offended with the court of St. James's. He had caused it to be signified to certain great personages in England, that the investiture of the order of the garter would be peculiarly agreeable to the King of Sweden; a wish that was not met by the expected condescension; and Gustavus, who could occasionally depart from his usual elegance of manners, told Mr. Elliot, that no claims were attended to of that nature, unless backed by the mercenary influence of "*the* ——*'s beggarly relations!*" The fact, perhaps, was, that the British cabinet was secretly pleased to see the Northern powers worry and destroy each other, and that the order of the garter was withheld,—and the Swedish king treated with so little ceremony,—to avenge on Gustavus the Third, the part he had acted in the armed neutrality of the North. If so, the politics of London were founded on false principles, and shewed the baleful influence of a narrow, contracted, and illiberal mind. True wisdom would have prescribed a rule of action the very reverse of this grovelling and wretched policy. Gustavus being thus heartily disgusted, would instantly have made peace with Catherine, if he had not been furnished by an English agent with the particulars of some personal sarcasms levelled at his

character by the empress, at the Hermitage, which galled him the more severely as his conscience told him they were too well founded. This feeling, and this alone, prevented him from adopting the council of General Armfelt, and concluding a treaty of peace with Russia. And thus was Gustavus the Third used as a puppet by foreign powers, and moved to and fro by foreign hands, just as the oligarchy had been which he had overthrown; and Sweden, under the appearance of a mixed or constitutional monarchy, became alternately the victim of foreign policy, or the errors of an accomplished, but profligate king.

CHAP. III.

Renewal of the war in Finland.—The campaigns of 1789 and 1790.—The ruin of the Swedish navy.—Sudden conclusion of peace.—Anecdote of the Empress Catherine and a pug dog.—Catherine the Second subsidises Gustavus the Third.—His intrigues against the French nation.—Anecdote of Mr. Pitt, related by William Augustus Miles, Esq.—Gustavus the Third goes to Spa.—Prepares to make war against France.—The death of the king resolved on.—Circumstances attendant on his assassination.—Anecdotes relative to the conspirators.—The death of Gustavus the Third.

Peace, if not amity, being thus restored between Sweden and Denmark, the work of havoc and slaughter was renewed in Finland, as soon as the winter of 1789 broke up. The local consequences of warlike operations are always terrific; but more peculiarly so in a sterile province, where the productive powers of the soil are so feeble, that the most favorable seasons in the bosom of peace, did not at this period bring forth a sufficiency of bread-corn to serve the thinly scattered population; and where the ravages of a single campaign required the labours of an age of tranquillity to replace its waste.

The history of the military movements afford

but little interest for foreign readers. The first enterprize was led by General Baron Stedingk, towards Nyslot. On the 5th of June, 1789, the king arrived in Finland, and put himself at the head of the chief division of the Swedish army. The plan of the campaign that was formed by this monarch, bespoke the daring character, rather than the military science of its projector, namely, the capture of the strong fortresses Nyslot, Frederikshamn, and Wiborg, by the army; of Hogfors and Cronstadt, by the grand fleet, assisted by a powerful fleet of gun-boats; and lastly, for the fleet and army to co-operate in the reduction of the proud metropolis, founded by Peter the Great! Notwithstanding the skill and devotion displayed by General Stedingk, and his brave and well-disciplined troops, he sustained a serious check at St. Michel's; was forced to retreat; and the Russian troops made an irruption into the province of Savilax. The king was at first successful, and he gained a victory of importance (the scale of operations considered) over a Russian army, near Davidstadt; and once more, at the head of his troops, found himself before the fatal walls of Frederikshamn. Meantime, before the king had time to reduce the fortress, or attempt again to carry it by storm, the Prince of Nassau Siegen arrived to relieve Frederikshamn, with seventy Russian gallies under his command. The fort was blockaded on the sea line by fifty Swedish gun-boats; which fleet, on the 24th of August, was

attacked by the Russian galleys, and a most desperate and murderous conflict ensued: both sides claimed the victory, but the advantage evidently rested with the superior force. The result of this battle raised the blockade of Frederikshamn, and considerable supplies, and a powerful reinforcement of troops were thrown into the fortress; in consequence of which events the king of Sweden was forced again to raise the siege precipitately, and was followed by the Russians, and greatly harrassed on his retreat into Swedish Finland. The short remainder of the campaign was consumed in mutual attacks and skirmishes, without any other result than a slaughter of men, and the desolation of the Swedish province. Such was the indecisive termination of the campaign in Finland; at the end of which, Nyslot, Frederikshamn, Wiborg, Petersburg, and Cronstadt, all remained in quiet possession of Russia, though in the palace of the Czars the thunder of the Swedish artillery was said to have been distinctly heard. On the 1st of September, the king of Sweden suddenly appeared in Stockholm, and frustrated, by his unlooked for presence, the design of convening a diet without his privity or consent.—That the projects of the king were betrayed to his foe, is extremely probable; suspicion fell upon General Kaulbart, but more probably the *chief* traitor was no other than General Baron Armfelt, by whom the plans of Gustavus the Third were betrayed to the Russians.

The naval operations of 1789 were carried on with tolerable spirit, during the months that the Baltic sea was open, and with alternate success. On the whole, perhaps, the Swedes had the advantage, but the result was by no means decisive. On the 26th July, the grand fleets of Sweden and Russia had a general action off Bornholm, in which both fleets sustained very heavy loss, and it ended in a drawn battle. The duke of Sodermanland, who commanded the Swedish fleet, enraged at being disappointed of the glory he had expected to acquire that day, complained loudly of treason, and caused one of his rear-admirals to be arrested; nor did he complain without cause, for so great was the deficiency of gunpowder in the Swedish fleet, there was not half the proper supply, and if the action had lasted one hour longer, most of the ships must have surrendered to the foe, solely from the want of ammunition. The last naval action of importance, took place before Frederikshamn, when both fleets suffered prodigiously, and the Russians, though victors, acquired but little glory in a triumph obtained over an enemy so greatly inferior in strength.

The military campaign of 1790, between Sweden and Russia, produced no event of striking importance; but the NAVAL CAMPAIGN was more than commonly interesting. In the year 1796, a work was published, in two volumes, octavo, entitled "*Letters from Scandinavia*," the 53d of which contains an animated detail of the different naval

actions that occurred. The writer of these pages, as he could not improve its interest, and relying on its authenticity, has inserted the whole letter as a note. It contains many brilliant traits of British valour, to which he respectfully refers his reader:* all he has to offer as he proceeds with

* " The Swedes commenced the naval campaign of 1790, so early as the month of April, with an attack upon the Russian town called Baltic Port, near the mouth of the gulph of Finland, which they laid under contribution. About the same time the Swedish galley fleet at Helsingfors sailed towards Fredrikshamn, where lay the flotilla of Russia, but in no condition to receive an enemy. The Swedish admiral, notwithstanding so fair an opportunity offered to make an easy prey of the Russians, delayed the attack for two days.

" During this time the Russians added several more galleys, which were unrigged at the arrival of the Swedes, to their fleet. The Swedes, after an obstinate engagement, took every vessel opposed to them, being much superior in number and force. Had the Swedes commenced the attack instantly upon their arrival, it is uncertain but the fortress of Frederikshamn would have fallen into their hands. This unpardonable neglect gave time to receive a reinforcement of troops into the garrison; and the besiegers, as if determined to prove their folly, made an attack upon the town with only a small part of their fleet. Their ships and men were nearly destroyed.

" The capture of the Russian galleys was a heavy blow. The news of it, however, only excited the greater activity in the Russians. The empress gave orders that another fleet should be built and ready for sea in a few weeks!

his narrative is, that after a succession of fierce and sanguinary naval combats, in which the hostile nations reciprocally displayed the highest degree of courage and devotion, and committed the grossest

The mallet resounded upon the banks of the Neva and at Cronstadt, and this new fleet of small armed ships and gun-boats was actually ready in a few weeks.

" The Swedes had formed the best plan possible for annihilating the Russian navy, and must have nearly, or altogether, succeeded; but owing to some infatuation and irresolution, or perhaps disaffection of many of their officers, they totally failed of success. The attack upon Baltic-Port was not followed so soon as it ought to have been by another upon Revel. In this instance again they gave the Russians notice to prepare themselves; and every expedition was used to fit out the Russian squadron lying at Revel, and consisting only of ten sail of the line, and three or four frigates.

" The harbours of Cronstadt and Revel cannot, separately, contain the whole of the Russian navy; and as the latter harbour is seldom frozen up, the Swedes could, either in March or April, have attacked the squadron lying here, while the greater part of the Russian fleet were frost-bound at Cronstadt.

" The duke of Sudermania, with twenty-two sail of the line, appeared before Revel. The ships under Admiral Tchitchigow lay in the best position, and with springs upon their cables. The enemy's fleet entered the harbour. The headmost of them received the raking fire of the Russians as they advanced; and the wind coming contrary, and two of the Swedish ships getting aground, made it advisable for the others to retreat. The Russians captured one of the vessels; the other was burnt by her own crew. If the duke of Sudermania could depend upon his men and

blunders, the war terminated with the celebrated battle at Svensk-Sund, where Gustavus commanded the Swedish fleet in person, and where he also gained a complete and brilliant victory

officers, why did he not renew the attack some future day, instead of proceeding to Cronstadt to attack a fleet nearly equal in force to his own, and with a certainty too of being followed by the Revel squadron? When he failed in beating a small fleet, why proceed to attack a greater, and in a situation more difficult of approach than Revel? It is true, the Russian fleet at Cronstadt lay in the harbour unrigged. It does not, however, appear that the duke knew this circumstance, and he slowly proceeded for Cronstadt, expecting to find the Russian ships prepared for him. What negligence was it, not to procure better information? When the royal commander arrived within sight of Cronstadt, the Russian fleet was indeed prepared to meet him, and the Revel squadron was at his heels. Thus the duke seems to have courted the destruction which awaited his fleet.

"The Swedish galleys, that had lately proved victorious at Frederikshamn, joined the grand fleet, and approached Cronstadt at the same time. The grand scene of action was begun, in which the ancient maritime power of Sweden was, by a series of misconduct and unforeseen events, to be totally overthrown; to be destroyed without being conquered, or rather without being beaten.

"The Russian squadron at Cronstadt, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, seven of them of 100 guns, which had been equipped with the most astonishing expedition, sailed under the command of a German officer, Admiral Kruse, and were in a few days followed and joined by eleven light frigates, and armed ships, commanded by an Irish officer, Captain Dennison.

over the Russian frigates and galleys, commanded by the Prince Nassau. The combined effect of all these battles, and particularly *that* in Wiborg-bay, was the destruction of many thousands of

" The Russian fleet lay at anchor, after leaving Cronstadt, off Crassna Gorca, a point of land several leagues distant from Cronstadt, in an irregular line of battle. Next day after the junction between the grand fleet, and the frigates, the Swedish fleet was discovered to windward, bearing down, favored by a westerly wind, in a line of battle, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line and thirteen frigates. The Russian admiral directly threw out the signal to form the line. Both fleets continued under sail all that night without coming to action, and were in the same position to each other in the morning. The weather was hazy: the wind shifted to the eastward, and the Russian fleet bore down upon the Swedes, engaging with seventeen ships, a line of battle opposed to them of thirty-six sail: the whole of the Swedish frigates having formed the line with the greater ships. Both fleets were upon the same course, on the starboard tack.

" Captain Dennison remained with the squadron of frigates in reserve, and watching the motions of the Swedish galley fleet, which hovered about at no great distance. Anxious to distinguish himself, and having discretionary power to act as he saw best, he determined to bear down upon the centre of the Swedish fleet, and to engage them. At this moment he observed the Swedish van attempting to double upon the Russian line of battle. This officer instantly bore down upon the van of the enemy; and, though supported by only two of his frigates, the others not coming to close action, he succeeded in preventing the intended manœuvre of the Swedes. The whole of the Swedish fleet bore away about six o'clock in

the best seamen that Sweden possessed, and of full two-thirds of all the Swedish line of battle ships and frigates; a terrible blow on the maritime power of Sweden, which it has never yet recovered, and

the morning, after a harmless fight of two hours continuance.

"In the afternoon of the same day, the wind again changed to the west. The Swedish fleet bore down again in a line of battle abreast upon their enemies, who waited for them in a line of battle a-head. This engagement lasted four hours. The Russian frigates were not much engaged in this battle. The Russian fleet yielded the victory to the Swedes, and retreated towards Cronstadt, with a view of drawing the enemy into narrow channels, where they could not employ all their ships.

"The hostile fleets remained near each other without fighting, until the afternoon of the second day, when, after an action of nearly the same continuance as the former, with as little effect, the Russians again gave way. The Swedish fleet did not pursue in either battle: they could not without imminent hazard from the surrounding shoals near Cronstadt, and it was not the business of Admiral Kruse to court a close engagement with a superior force.

"He waited the coming of the Revel squadron under the Russian commander in chief. The duke of Sudermania, dreading the approach of this division while he remained so near the shoals of Cronstadt, and to be caught between two fires, desisted from any farther attack upon Admiral Kruse, and sailed with a view of intercepting the Revel squadron, then hourly expected.

"Admiral Kruse then followed the enemy; but first got sight of the other division of the Russian fleet under the Siscar islands. The Venus frigate, Captain Dennison, the same day made the signal for seeing the Swedish

probably never will: and the war itself was immediately terminated by a treaty, wherein each power retained the same territories that it had possessed at its commencement!—Meantime,

fleet steering towards Wiborg bay, which lies to the westward of the Siscar islands, and consequently, they were past and clear of the Russian united fleet, and might have proceeded in safety to their own harbour of Sweaborg. The Russian fleet being at the same time under sail, pursued the enemy, and soon arrived off the bay where the Swedes had taken refuge. The Swedish fleet were seen lying at anchor in a line of battle. Two narrow channels led into this bay, which were guarded by several large ships.

"The Russian fleet kept under weigh that night; and next day Captain Dennison was ordered with his frigates into the outward bay to sound; and finding the roadstead safe for the largest fleet, the whole came to an anchor, immediately without the Swedish fleet, and nearly within gun-shot of each other: some banks and rocks separated them. Two line-of-battle ships with the squadron of frigates, were stationed to guard the channels where the Swedish guard-ships lay.

"The duke of Sudermania had seen the Revel division as he sailed from Cronstadt, and had determined to engage it. The Swedish fleet were seen by several English merchant ships, making towards the Revel squadron, and even using oars, and having boats a-head of every ship, towing them nearer their enemies. The Swedish officers and crews were in the highest spirits, and the air rung with their shouts. The common sailors and soldiers of the Swedes were enthusiastically fond of a sovereign who accompanied them in all their dangers; and they frequently declared they would follow wherever

Gustavus the Third, assuming an exulting aspect, returned to Stockholm in triumph; and, notwithstanding all his errors and losses, so greatly was his daring courage admired by the loyal citizens,

he led. *He led them to destruction.* Gustavus, endowed with the most heroic courage, did not possess with this, the qualities requisite in a great commander. Fearing nothing, he gave his orders precipitately, without looking forward to the consequences.

" He ordered his fleet to cease the pursuit, and to go into the bay of Wiborg, for the purpose of protecting his galley fleet, who were arrived near it, at a place called Biorka Sound. Did his Swedish majesty not know that there was no Russian galley fleet to attack them, and that no other could do it. The Russian grand fleet could not pursue small boats near the shore, among the Finland rocks. Prince Nassau, at this period, was at Cronstadt, and the galley-fleet not yet collected together. What little pains had Gustavus taken to procure intelligence which would have saved both his fleets!

" The Swedish galley fleet was engaged in the battles off Cronstadt. It approached that end of the Russian line stretching towards Carelia, and annoyed the Russian ships, who, could not hurt, in their turn, such small objects: it consisted of sixty-eight vessels. The Russian frigates chased them into shore, but the westerly winds favored their escape; at the same time that the Swedish grand fleet retreated.

" Without provisions, and, it is reported, with no large quantity of powder and ball, King Gustavus ordered his navy into an enemy's harbour, surrounded by an enemy's country and superior fleet! Yet, from all these difficulties, amidst all these dangers, he might have escaped, had not some unfortunate accidents occurred.

that the air resounded with universal plaudits, and he was hailed as a conqueror and a pacificator!

Thus terminated the war between Sweden and Russia! All the high wrought anticipations

"The whole Swedish naval force were at this moment surrounded by the navy of Russia. The existence of Sweden as a naval power was to be decided in a few days, and hung upon the cast of a die! Admiral Tchitchigow dispatched a courier to her imperial majesty, then at Zarsko Zelo, with news of this critical situation of the enemy. Catharine, agitated with hope and fear for the event, observed upon the uncertainty of fate. The courier, a young English lieutenant, forgetting the august presence he was in, exclaimed, "By God! we have them, madam! not a ship can escape us!" Her majesty smiled, and thanked him for his good wishes for the success of her arms.

"The flotilla commanded by the prince Nassau was not yet ready. A part of this armament lay at anchor near Cronstadt, waiting for the gun-boats and other vessels fitting out at Petersburg. I had occasion to pass several times between Cronstadt and Petersburg by water, during this period. I beheld small divisions of this newly created fleet, rowed by their crews in their voyage to Cronstadt. The sight of these row-boats filled with slaves at the oar, and with soldiers bristling with armour, exhibited the appearance of piratical adventures. The gulph resounded with the strokes of oars, and with the songs of the crews.

"Both the grand fleet and galley fleet of Sweden were crowded with soldiers; and many of the transports had horses on board, to the number of two or three hundred. While they remained in Wiborg bay, several fruitless attempts were made to penetrate into the country;

and vast designs of Gustavus, successively vanished. Instead of entering Petersburg as a conqueror, he had a narrow escape from being escorted thither by a revolted army as a captive,

for what purpose, I cannot guess, unless to obtain provisions at all risks. The Russian fortress of Wiborg, and the numerous land forces of Russia on shore, were not to be conquered by such small numbers of troops, and these starving for want of food. The king at last saw his error; but not until the arrival of Prince Nassau with the Russian flotilla, which added another difficulty to his escape; and at a time too when his seamen and soldiers were disheartened by famine and misfortune of all sorts.

"The Russian galley fleet were joined upon their arrival by Captain Dennison's squadron of frigates; and an attack was meditated upon the Swedish flotilla lying at Biorka Sound. This last consisted of about sixty sail, mostly gun-boats. The gun-boats are small open vessels, carrying one piece of cannon in their bows, and another in their stern.* The attack of the Russians commenced in the night, two days after the arrival of their galleys. The prince had perhaps suspected an attempt of the Swedes to retreat that night, and wished to come to blows before they got away; or otherwise the attack was ill advised, seeing the frigates in the dark would not venture near the shore, and among rocks, to support the gun-boats.

"This fight was nothing more than a firing at random, amidst the clouds of night. The hostile fleets only saw each other by the flames from the mouths of the cannon, which served for torches. The fire of the frigates was at too great distance to do any execution; and the Prince

* In 1808 the Swedish gun-boats carried a 68-pounder on a platform in the prow; and two smaller guns in the stern; the people are all exposed: there are no bulwarks to send off the shot.

and delivered up to Catherine! Instead of acquiring the sovereignty of the Baltic sea, his unpardonable folly and rashness at Wiborg bay involved the navy of Sweden in destruction!

Nassau, ever eager to distinguish himself, but not versant in sea affairs, reprobated Captain Dennison for not hazarding all his vessels in this blind-man's-buff engagement.

"The Swedish flotilla had, previously to this fight, received orders from the king to be in readiness for a retreat the first favorable wind. An easterly breeze in the morning was instantly seized for this purpose; and to retreat, not only from famine, but from a superior force, the signal was given. The Swedish galleys retreated by a channel near the shore, and were pursued by the Russian galley-fleet and frigates. The grand fleet of Sweden cut, and stood out of this fatal bay by another channel, more distant from the coast: and the Swedish transports by a third channel within both these. The channel by which the Swedish galley-fleet and small frigates ran, was guarded by several Russian light frigates. This retreat was however well conducted; and, although several gun-boats were taken, the greater part effected their escape to Frederikshamn, after being pursued by the Russians as far as Hogland.

"The Swedish gun-boats were manned with sailors, and were an overmatch for the awkward Russian peasants who rowed in pursuit of them.

"The Swedish transports were less successful in their retreat. Sailing too near the shore, to avoid the shot of the gun-boats and frigates, many of them got aground, and several threw the horses of the dragoons overboard in vain, to lighten the barks, and to get off again. The most of the transports, their cargoes, their crews, and the soldiers, fell an easy prey to the Russians. Gustavus from

Instead of wresting Finland, Courland, or Livonia, from Russia, he narrowly escaped seeing his kingdom shorn of Gothenborg and the western provinces of Sweden. He *consumed* army after

the deck of his yacht, in which he accompanied the galley-fleet, saw the misfortunes of his navy and other vessels, without being able to relieve them. This royal hero, retreating in a small yacht, had several of his subjects killed by his side; and the vessel was so shattered by a shot that he was obliged to leave her, and go on board another small vessel. One of the crew was wounded in the arm—the king tore the order of Vasa from his shoulder, and bound up the wound. Had the particular vessel been known in which the king was, he would have been easily taken, and brought prisoner to Catharine.

"The Russians had stationed five ships of the line in the outward and main channel, under the command of a Russian officer. These five, with springs upon their cables, were to oppose the whole Swedish grand fleet as they passed; while the rest of the Russian ships under Admiral Tchitchigow remained idle spectators. The Swedish fleet though proceeding with a fair wind, were severely galled by the raking fire of the five Russian men of war. One Swedish ship got aground before she had passed the Russian guard-ships; but all the rest of the Swedish navy passed in triumph; and the officers were congratulating each other upon their success, when evil mischance suddenly brought upon them calamity and defeat.

"The Swedes had prepared two fire-ships, whose commanders had directions to set them on fire when they saw that all the Swedish fleet had passed that of Russia. One of these blew up without doing any harm to the enemy. The other was avoided as she approached in

army in fruitless enterprizes; yet, because he was victorious at Svensk-Sund over the galley fleet of Russia, Gustavus assumed the lofty port of a conqueror, and entered Stockholm in triumph!

flames towards the Russian guard-ships, by their slipping their cables. A Swedish ship of the line was not a great distance a-head of this fire-ship, into whose sails the flames attracted the wind, and she rapidly approached the Swedish man of war, which, owing to the narrowness of the channel, could not avoid her. The fire-ship ran aboard of her, set her instantly in a blaze, and this ship, the finest in the fleet, was blown up, and every person in her, one excepted, perished.

"The smoke of the late engagement, rendered more thick by this explosion, was carried by the winds, and involved five or six of the Swedish fleet then directly a-head of the wreck. The consequence was their running aground. Another had got ashore near the Swedish guard-ships, prior to the accident; and after she had passed them. Thus eight or nine sail of the line had only to be picked up by the Russians. Captain Dennison took possession of the first vessel, which got aground as she lay at anchor, or soon after she had cut in Wiborg bay. I had frequent conversations with the captain of this ship, whose name is Trutiger. He gave me a plan of the situation of both fleets. Though he rejoiced at the escape of a considerable part of the Swedish fleet, he confessed, that, had the Russian admiral made a better disposition of his fleet, not a ship of his nation could have escaped: and the disposition was, simply, to have crossed the channel with two or three lines of guard-ships, with springs upon their cables, every one of which lines, so advantageously stationed, must have so disabled the Swedish fleet in passing, as to have rendered them incapable of resisting the remainder of the

Such was the haste with which the treaty of Verela was concluded, that, except the termination of hostilities, every other topic of negociation was deferred for future arrangement. General

Russian navy, and which ought to have been waiting at the mouth of the channel to receive the enemy as they attempted to fly. Instead of such a judicious plan, only five ships were opposed to twenty-two or twenty-three of equal force with themselves; and the Russian fleet in the outward bay of Wiborg had not cut or slipped their cables, even when the remaining fifteen ships of the Swedes had passed the line of guard-ships.

"The second man of war which grounded after passing the Russian guard-ships still continued firing at the enemy, until all the other ships of the Swedish navy had got clear; when she struck her colours. The Swedish officers of the vessels which ran ashore complained, in some conversations I had with them, that the Russians continued firing into them, even when they lay aground and their colours struck. This must have been owing to the confusion, and from their being indistinctly seen through the smoke.

"The second Swedish ship that went ashore, was lost to the Russians through some mismanagement. She lay upon the edge of a bank; and in the attempt to get her off, she upset or tumbled over, whereby many Russians, as well as Swedes, were drowned. Four ships of the line were brought to Cronstadt; the other two were wrecked where they lay.

"In the chase of the Swedish grand fleet, two more ships of the line were taken and carried into Revel, with one or two frigates; in one of these was the Swedish rear admiral Leanker, who made a very obstinate defence against two Russian ships of the line. Thus were destroyed or taken from the Swedes in the course of three months,

Baron Armfelt was the secret cause of this hasty reconciliation. It has been fully ascertained that the court banker, Baron Sutherland,* was the agent, by whom, at an early period of Arm-

two ships at Revel, eight in Wiborg bay, and two more in the chase, in all twelve ships, of from 60 to 70 guns. The relics of the Swedish navy, thirteen sail, took refuge in Sweaborg, where, had they gone about five weeks

* At a period of deep and general commercial distress, this Baron Sutherland, though possessed of ample assets, had felt his credit n danger from the immense failures that had occurred in every mart in Europe. The empress Catherine being informed of his difficulties, and from his immense concerns, apprehending that the credit of all her merchants would be affected by his failure; and having had the best proofs of his solvency; she ordered her ministers in England, Holland, and France, to buy up all his acceptances: by which means his credit was saved; and in due time he was able to repay his benefactress all she had advanced. The baron possessed a *pug dog* which the empress admiring, it was presented and graciously accepted. Crammed with luxuries that were before untasted, poor pug paid dear for his dainties; actually dying of repletion. The empress, *grieved* at this event, said to one of her officers, "*Go! take* SUTHERLAND, *and have him* FLAYED *and* STUFFED!"—Obedient to the imperial dame, away went the officer to the baron's house, and told him, with a face full of horror, the dreadful orders given by the empress! With all his confidence in the favor of Catherine, Baron Sutherland felt *rather* awkward; for he knew if she had determined to *flay* and *stuff* him, there was no appeal. Having prevailed on the officer to let him go to the empress in a whole skin, when the trembling banker was announced, and admitted to an audience, the empress, on being informed of the ludicrous mistake, laughed heartily, and soon removed the fears of the baron, by telling him it was the *dead pug* (which she had called '*Sutherland*') that she had ordered to be '*flayed and stuffed*,' and not himself.

felt's career, the price of his treason was remitted. Notwithstanding the well feigned horror and amazement he played off on the mutiny taking place in Finland, Armfelt was the secret source

before, they would have remained untouched, and the Russian navy idly paraded the gulph of Finland.

"The Russians took, besides, from six to seven thousand Swedes prisoners, of whom I have spoken in another place, with considerable quantities of naval stores.

"The Swedish flotilla, lying near Frederikshamn and the mouth of the river Thymen, was followed, so soon as Prince Nassau had repaired the damages of his vessels, by the Russian light frigates, galleys, and gun-boats.

"The Russian flotilla lay at anchor at no great distance from the Swedes, whose galley-fleet lay behind two islands, the main channel between the islands, and narrower ones upon the opposite sides, being defended by chains of gun-boats and by several batteries.

"The Russian fleet was much superior in force; and the signal for attack being given by Prince Nassau from his frigate, the Catharine, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th of June, the whole proceeded with alacrity to battle, the wind blowing them down directly upon the enemy. The Swedish first line of battle consisted of four frigates and three xebecs. Their gun-boats were ranged behind, and upon the right and left, besides those which guarded the narrow channels. The Russian line opposed to the Swedes consisted of four frigates and three xebecs, with one floating battery. The rest of the Russian galleys and gun-boats, amounting to 60 or 70 sail, most unaccountably retreated at the very commencement of the action; and, during the period it lasted, remained at a convenient distance, disregarding the orders of Prince Nassau.

of that treason; and if it had succeeded to the extent of dethroning Gustavus the Third, or causing the loss of Finland, he would have thrown off the mask, and claimed the *honor* of

"The wind had increased to a brisk gale. The Russians in the gun-boats had never before seen the ocean, and could not manage their oars, or perhaps this new and strange situation might strike many of them with a panic. It is not on board the gun-boats and galleys, as on board the larger vessels which may be brought into action without much exertion of the crews: two or three awkward rowers will put a galley or gun-boat in a dangerous situation, if the sea is running high. When the Russians have only to stand fire, to load and to discharge their guns, no fault will ever be found with them in action: but they are not at all acquainted with the arts of seamanship, nor can it be expected.

"The action this day was between four Russian frigates, commanded by the English officers Dennison, Marshall, Young and Perry, and the three xebecs, and a floating battery, commanded by Russian officers, against the whole Swedish fleet. Both the hostile squadrons lay abreast of each other at anchor, and continued for ten hours warmly engaged. The Swedish commander, now the ambassador from the court of Stockholm at Petersburgh, seeing he could spare a part of his force, detached about fifty gun-boats through the narrow channels, with the gallant design of surrounding the superior fleet of the Russian galleys and gun-boats which remained inactive. The Russian galleys and gun-boats, though they kept at a cowardly distance from the fire of the enemy's frigates, instantly attacked their gun-boats, and drove them back. This done, they remained as before, without even attempting to second their brave countrymen, who, while each ship had

having added the province in which he was born to the empire of Russia. This corrupt and wicked favorite strove to instigate Gustavus to shed the blood of his political enemies on the

another of equal force to contend with of the Swedes, were besides raked in all directions by surrounding gun-boats.

"Many of the Russian galleys and gun-boats were wrecked upon the shore adjoining to the narrow channels to which they had gone to the attack of the enemy's gun-boats, or driven through by the wind, or lost by the awkwardness of the crews. Several of the crews from the wrecked gun-boats and galleys, getting ashore upon the islands, with what brandy they had saved with themselves, employed their time in drinking and singing while the battle was raging in other quarters.

"The Russian frigates and xebecs maintained the most bloody and obstinate engagement upon record. Captain Dennison repeatedly sent an officer to Prince Nassau, to inform him of the certain consequences of the action against the Russian arms, if the galleys and gun-boats did not come down to support this squadron. About one o'clock Captain Dennison was struck by a grape-shot in the head, and mortally wounded. The command of the ship devolved upon the first lieutenant, Mr. M'Carthy, who, assisted by the Russian Colonel Tchetcherin in conducting this bloody struggle, fought the frigate, until they were under the necessity, to prevent her sinking, to run her ashore. They were attacked on every side by gun-boats, and sustained for several hours the fire of two and three of the Swedish frigates, after these had succeeded in defeating, by means of the numerous gun-boats, the other Russian ships and xebecs.

"Captain Perry yielded after an obstinate engagement. Captain Young fought his frigate, until his crew wisely

scaffold; an object in which Armfelt could never prevail: he was at once overbearing and servile: he used constantly to dwell on the anomalies that were mixed up with the constitu-

refused to obey, and to throw away their lives, without the smallest hopes of success. The crew ran their ship on shore, and were taken prisoners.

"Captain Marshall, keeping up a fire which astonished the Swedes, fought whilst his ship was a wreck, and hardly able to support her cannon: even when the main deck was under water, and the frigate lying upon a bank, which alone prevented her from sinking, the gallant Marshall thundered in broadsides against the enemy. He was wounded in the thighs and in the knee, around which he had wrapped the ship's ensign. He stood upon the quarter deck, leaning upon the arm of his lieutenant. While all hopes of victory were over, and not a gun above water, the ship ready to go to pieces with every wave, a shot cut him in two, and he fell upon the deck, covered with the sea which broke over it. The colours still remained flying. The Russian priest called together the few left of the ship's company: he comforted them under their distress, and held the cross to them all, which they devoutly kissed. The ship separated, the priest held up the cross, kissed it, and went to the bottom, clasping it in his hands. Several of the crew hung upon pieces of the wreck, and even in this situation some were killed by the enemy's shot, but which was not directed at them.

"One boat, the only one which remained with Captain Dennison's frigate, was dispatched to the relief of these heroes. Eight men and two officers were picked up. They were saved from one kind of death to meet another; and on coming on board the frigate, now fighting almost singly against the Swedish fleet, they were placed at the

tion of 1772, encouraging the king to break his voluntary oath, and render the crown independent of the nation. Whilst he was the stipendiary of Russia, he cast imputations of that kind on every patriot. He *would*, if he could, have kept the king and his brother Charles constantly in a state of mutual suspicion and enmity; insinuating that the duke himself stood in secret connexion with the empress, and that the great miscarriages by sea and land had originated with that prince. Even the excessive magnificence by which Gustavus the Third was so greatly distinguished, was partly

guns, and bore their part in a battle of some hours. The Maria, at last, nearly in the same situation with the late Captain Marshall's ship, was run on shore about half past nine in the evening; the officers and men having supported with unparalleled bravery, an unequal contest from nine or ten o'clock in the morning. The three xebecs had been taken before this; the bravery of the Russian officers who commanded them would have yielded only to such superior force.

"Prince Nassau, seeing the battle at an end, is said to have hid his face with his cloak. The galleys and gun-boats had by this time entirely gone away; nor did the Swedes attempt to pursue the greater number of enemies who ran from them.

"Thus ended the naval campaign in the Baltic. Prince Nassau meant again to attack the Swedes, and had been joined by some frigates for the purpose. A courier arrived at the galley-fleet with the news of the peace, and prevented his intention being put into execution.

"The Swedes took about 2000 prisoners of the Russians in the late battle, from the frigates captured, and

owing to the insidious artifices of Baron Armfelt, who was often in the habit of extolling the tasteful magnificence of the empress Catharine. With a nation that fell short of three millions of people, thinly strewed over a barren tract, larger in extent than France or Germany, and with a revenue inferior to that of individual subjects in Russia or Austria, Gustavus aspired at eclipsing in splendor the empress of all the Russias; thus realizing, at the expence of his suffering subjects, the fable of the frog and the ox. If he had been king of a nation wealthy as Great Britain, his fine taste

from the galleys and gun-boats run on shore. Prince Nassau is a very unfortunate, as he is a very brave officer. Admiral Tchitchigow is attended by the goddess of Fortune for his pilot: he, too, is a brave and gallant officer; the opinions with regard to his skill are various.

"The Russians by this successful campaign have established a paramount power over the Baltic. The Swedes cannot again raise their heads for a century. It would be in vain for them to build ships of the line for the Russians to capture. The superiority of the Russian fleet in numbers, if well conducted, must be at all times an overmatch for the former.

"The Russian fleets returned to port, the armies were dispersed. And this is the end of war: Having been at much expence and trouble in cutting each other's throats, a form of peace is drawn up, and each nation congratulate themselves upon their victories.

"When will this farce of murder be at an end? When will men turn wise enough to check the ambition of princes, but without destroying the happiest system of government, which has a good king at its head?"

would have elevated the character of the people; he would have embellished his residence with structures and monuments, elegant and durable as the proudest edifices of Greece or Rome; and by his liberal patronage of native genius, and fostering the arts and sciences, he might in a great measure have atoned for wars founded on ambition, and his encroachments on public liberty; but the waste occasioned by his taste for splendor, fell heavily on so poor a nation; and his necessities impelled him to financial expedients not always just, which greatly accelerated the catastrophe that ensued. It has been already remarked, that, to an inordinate passion for military glory, he sacrificed, without remorse, the welfare of his subjects. That formidable mutiny in Finland, which ought to have weaned him from this destructive passion, seemed merely to have inspired him with new ardor for war! Between the commencement of the war with Russia and the treaty of Verela,* by which it was closed, the

* TREATY of PEACE concluded between the King of Sweden and the Empress of all the Russias, Aug. 11, 1790.

In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity!

His majesty the king of Sweden and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, equally desirous of putting an end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-establish the friendship, harmony, and good neighbourhood, which have long subsisted between their respective states and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions, and

French revolution occurred; and the ability of the Bourbon monarchs to retain petty kings by secret pensions, suddenly ceased. Gustavus had been devoted to the support of French politics,

with a view to realise them, they have appointed and authorised, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Gustavus d'Armfelt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. &c. and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the sieur Otho Henry d'Ingelstrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorised, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be henceforward between his majesty the king of Sweden, and his estates, countries, and nations on one part, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and her estates, countries, and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by sea and land; and consequently, the most speedy orders for the cessation of hostilities shall be given by each party. Whatever is past shall be forgotten; attention will only be paid to the re-establishment of that harmony and mutual good-will, which has been interrupted by the present war.

Art. II. The limits and frontiers shall, on each side, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the present war.

Art. III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, shall be evacuated as speedily as possible, or fourteen days after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. IV. All prisoners of war, or others, who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent

not alone from mercenary motives, but from an irregular kind of gratitude; because it was that profuse court which had supplied him with the funds that enabled him to effect the revolu-

parties during the course of hostilities, shall be set at liberty by each party without ransom; and they shall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance; but they shall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each respective state.

Art. V. And in order to prevent the giving the least occasion for a misunderstanding at sea between the contracting parties, it is stipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more Swedish men of war, whether small or great, shall pass by the forts of her imperial majesty, they shall be obliged to give a salute in the Swedish manner; which shall be immediately answered by a salute in the Russian mode. The same shall be observed by Russian men of war, whether one or more; they shall be obliged to salute before the forts of his Swedish majesty, and they shall be answered by a Swedish salute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties shall order, as speedily as possible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of saluting between Swedish and Russian ships shall be established, whether at sea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent mistakes in the above case, ships of war belonging to either party shall not salute each other.

Art. VI. Her imperial majesty of all the Russias has also agreed, that his Swedish majesty shall be at liberty to buy every year, corn to the amount of 50,000 roubles, in the ports of the gulph of Finland and of the Baltic sea, provided it be proved that it is for the use of his Swedish

tion of 1772; and a third source of respect was its high notions of kingly dignity, and utter contempt of every restraint that would set limits to its power. The empress was aware of these cir-

majesty, or for the use of some of his subjects duly authorised by his majesty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years shall not be included, nor such years in which, for some important reasons, her Imperial majesty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

Art. VII. As the eagerness of the high contracting parties for the speedy termination of those evils with which their respective subjects have been afflicted in consequence of war does not allow them time for the regulation of many points and objects tending to establish firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promise to pay attention to those points and objects, and to discuss and regulate them amicably by means of ambassadors, or plenipotentiary ministers, whom they shall appoint immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty of peace.

Art. VIII. The ratifications of the present treaty of peace shall be exchanged within the space of six days, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof, we have signed the present treaty of peace, and sealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Verela, near the river Kymene, between the advanced posts of each camp, the 11th of August, 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON D'ARMFELT.
OTHO, BARON D'IGELSTROM.

cumstances, and of the inconveniences to which the stoppage of the French subsidies had exposed him. Catherine, therefore, instructed Baron Armfelt to sound the king, and prepare him to receive pecuniary aid from her exchequer! At the same time she caused Gustavus to be applied to by some of the most illustrious of the French emigrant nobles, who represented their beauteous queen and the ladies of her court as overwhelmed with grief, and their bright eyes, suffused with tears, turned towards the chivalrous king of Sweden, as their future knight and deliverer. The bait took: this expedient promised to administer to his wants, and his ambition; and he inconsiderately agreed to become a pensioner to the empress Catherine, and plunge his devoted kingdom into a new war in which it had not the smallest interest; and against a people from whom Sweden had not received even the shadow of insult or injury.

Being thus pre-disposed to venture upon a second war of aggression, before the wounds were half healed that had been inflicted by the first; which was destitute of the popularity, that, flattering the pride, deceived and misled the judgment of the nation; and rendering the people delighted with a prospect of revenge on Russia, they totally overlooked the breach of compact committed by the king.

Although Gustavus would not suffer the mutiny in Finland to operate as a beacon to warn

him to beware of risking aggressive war; he determined, if possible, to guard himself in future against disloyal or *patriotic* officers. He, therefore, determined to provide a nursery for the future supply of the army with officers; to take them at an early period from their parents and their home, and train and educate them in habits of blind and implicit obedience. This school, for the education of military students, he intended to establish in the palace of Ulricsdal; and the better to cloak and conceal this odious policy, the king ordered the naval cadets from Carlscrona to be removed to this new institution, which he ordained should bear the ominous name of the "*War Academy.*" The celebrated philosopher and scholar, Professor Melanderhjelm, of Upsala university, was ordered by the king to prepare a system of moral and scientific education. Meantime, under the specious pretext of providing for the fortresses, and filling the magazines that the war just ended had exhausted of stores, Gustavus caused the fabrication of arms, ammunition, tents, clothing, &c. to be continued. Through the secret and powerful influence of Russia, and his own fiery zeal, Gustavus became the idol of the French refugees; and the head of the counter-revolutionists.—A pensioned patriot, or a pensioned parliament, are deservedly objects of popular aversion; but a pensioned king is the most culpable of all pensioners. Such was Gustavus the Third, who dared not resent COUNT STACKELBERG (who had so

long played the despot over the guilty Stanislaus, at Warsaw), calling him "*A true and worthy knight of his immortal mistress!*"

Gustavus was not deceived by Catherine's illusive professions; he plainly saw her drift; but so serious were his financial difficulties, it was impossible he could extricate himself without foreign subsidies or loans, and the only certain means of attaining either was by appearing heartily to second the views of the empress. Thus his expensive habits had a strong and irresistible tendency to produce those events that accelerated his destruction.

Meantime the brave, generous, and unsuspecting people, over whose destiny, this unfaithful shepherd pretended to watch, and whose lives and property were exposed by his errors and crimes; attached to France by powerful ties, beheld with a solemn and generous anxiety her efforts to become free! Thus, the very antipodes of each other, were the sentiments of the Swedish people and their sovereign. However trivial may be the share of legislative power that falls to the lot of the uncultivated farmers of Sweden, and degraded as they stand by the insolence of the nobles, who long since decreed, that any persons who had received a liberal education, should be excluded from becoming the representatives of the peasants, it still inspires them with lofty sentiments, and short will be the reign of the Swedish monarch, who shall deprive them of this barren right. The peasantry

of Sweden are really a religious race; with them the doctrines taught by their pastors are implicitly received; and all the king could do to incense their simple minds against the French, was to call them a nation of *atheists*, who had renounced the christian faith, and murdered the christian priests; but, as the religion of France was that of Rome, some wit* circulated a report that the people of Paris had renounced popery, and were about to turn Lutherans! a finesse that is said to have had the effect of neutralizing that ruse resorted to by the king. The greater the pains that were taken to prejudice the people against the French, the farther they were from attaining their object, andthe more popular the cause of freedom became. Severe and witty pasquinades were daily launched amongst the populace, ridiculing the personal character of the king, and lashing his predeliction for absolute monarchy. Gustavus often went out alone, and *incog.* wrapped in a military great coat, and fearlessly mixed amongst the people. Every where he heard the severest censure; or bold prophecies that his attempt to crush the rising freedom of the French, would serve as a signal to the people of Sweden to wrest the sceptre from his hand. Yet, a firm reliance upon the *standing army*, gave him confidence that he should be able to *coerce* the people into submission. To this prince, at this period, might, with propriety have been

* It was said to have been Mr. Thorild.

applied the emphatic words, "*Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*" Instead of taking timely warning from what he heard with his own ears, and had seen with his own eyes, he resolved at every risk to persevere; and, perhaps, in conformity to the instructions of the *imperial* Russian police, he prohibited the discussion of *French* politics; forbade by proclamations, the people from discoursing on any subjects connected with the progress of the French revolution; whilst the few feeble journals that existed in Sweden, were forbade inserting the speeches of the popular orators! His orders were, however, openly laughed at in Stockholm; the very soldiers on whom he so fully depended, openly expressed their unwillingness to be sent so far from their home to fight against a nation that had never wronged their country: and it was the opinion of several officers of long standing and great experience in the Swedish army, that if he had not been cut off as he was by the hand of Ankarstrom, this very army he was assembling, with the view of invading France, in Normandy, and marching direct on Paris, would have hoisted the standard of revolt, and destroyed the king whom once they adored.

Meantime, the indigent and mercenary monarch solicited and obtained great pecuniary contributions from the Bourbons of Spain and Naples, from the emperor of Germany, and the Pope, to help to defray the expences of paying rapacious emissaries, who pretended to create insurrections

in France in favour of the despotism that had been overthrown; and in procuring the best intelligence. For this end, and to meet the ministers from the principal powers, who were forming an anti-gallican league, he went in July, 1791, to Aix-la-Chappelle. The marquis De Bouillé, the representative of the Bourbon princes and emigrants of France, was there; and there was also said to be a secret agent from a prince who ought not to have sanctioned a crusade against those principles to which his forefathers owed a triple crown.*

* The late William Augustus Miles, Esq. author of Letters to the Prince of Wales, &c. and who, at this period (1791) was intimately and confidentially acquainted with the Marquis Fayette, M. Chauvelin, and other distinguished characters in France; and who was also the *confidential friend* and *political correspondent* of the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, assured the author by letter, in November, 1809, that the Elector of Hanover was a party to the treaty of Pilnitz, and to all the machinations carried on under the auspices of Gustavus the Third. Mr. Miles farther assured him, (the author) that Mr. Pitt had made up his mind to the observance of an armed neutrality, and not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, "but," said Mr. M. "the —— was personally bent on war; in which project the ——, who might rather be said to reign than the ——, was highly instrumental in accelerating that impolitic and ruinous measure. The great proprietors of boroughs, whigs, and tories, were alarmed at the republican spirit that obtained, and were determined on war. Mr. Pitt was ambitious; the love of power was deeper rooted in his mind, than attachment to those principles by which he had elevated his fame as a statesman; and he had a brother to provide for, who was a peer, an ——, indigent, and profuse. Mr. Pitt had to chuse between retiring from office, or making war on France: he had no party on which he could depend for support: and he submitted to the expedient that was

But the steps of Gustavus were watched, and his hours numbered. The leading men in France were informed of his movements; and as to his views, those unequivocally aimed at the restoration of an arbitrary government. A secret correspondence was carried on between certain persons attached to freedom in Sweden, and the existing government of France. The marquis De Bouille found means to discover that such an intercourse existed, and also that it was intended to assassinate the king, at Aix. Alarmed to the highest degree at the near prospect of losing the monarch, on whom the restoration of the old system so greatly depended, the marquis, in a manner, drove away the mercenary champion of kings, a day or two sooner than he intended, whereby, it has been asserted, his life was saved.

There is no authentic source to which this report can be traced, nor whether it was intended to have been executed by a Frenchman, or a Swede. The author was informed in Sweden, by a person of distinction, that the king was warned by a stranger, that if he stayed twenty-four hours longer he would inevitably lose his life. Let whoever might be its projector, the expedient

required."—Mr. Miles has left many papers relative to the sources of the first revolutionary war. He had also written a history of that war; and probably of the war of 1803; and if those MSS. should be published, the truth of these anecdotes having been derived from Mr. Miles will be manifest, whatever may be the credit given to matters stated.

was base and infamous. Every nation has a right to form its own government; and, in case of gross and flagrant misrule, to cashier its rulers. Circumstances have often occurred, in which it became a social duty to draw the sword against a lawless chief; but no truly great or honourable mind ever yet had recourse to an assassin, or the stilletto.

When Louis the Sixteenth* accepted the constitution, and swore to maintain it, some of the principal heads of the royal league became lukewarm. Prussia, seemed jealous of the designs cherished by Gustavus the Third: yet, still the latter persevered: if Spain, Austria, or Prussia became lukewarm, the King of Sweden kept the cause alive, and appeared, at every risk, resolved to restore the prostrate despotism of the Bourbon throne, or lose his own in the rash undertaking. And notwithstanding the vast contributions he received, so great were his disbursements, he felt himself compelled to summon a diet, to supply the means of carrying on the war against France. He caused this assembly to be summoned to meet at Gefle,

* When the dispatch was handed to Gustavus the Third, announcing the acceptation of the constitution by Louis the Sixteenth, the king would not break the seals nor read the papers transmitted. A strong proof of duplicity on the part of the French king, as it cannot be supposed that Gustavus would have thus insulted Louis; if it had not been previously agreed upon between them. The editor of the Annual Register, vol. XXXIV. p. 57, imputes this conduct in the Swedish king to the influence of the empress of Russia.

a sea-port and city, situated on the coast of Bothnia; and so short was the interval between the appearance of the proclamation and the day of meeting, that the distant cities had not time to make their elections of deputies; and many of the delegates from the south and west of Sweden, could not arrive in due time. The diet met on the 23d of January, 1792, under the protection of foreign mercenaries. By means of secret and corrupt arrangements, the king carried every point in favour of regal prerogative, although he failed in obtaining all the pecuniary supplies he demanded. Whilst the king was in Gefle, his mortal enemies were close at his heels, and he had a hair breadth escape from being murdered. Having dissolved the diet, he returned sullen and dissatisfied to Stockholm, but yet inflexibly resolved on war. But, again, his deadly enemies were in chace, they arrived within a few hours in Stockholm after the king; and it was intended to cut him off that very night!

It would be presumptuous to assign the number of persons engaged in the conspiracy formed against the life of this guilty monarch: but they were almost entirely persons of eminence belonging to the order of nobility.

The world has heard much of John Jacob Ankarstrom the Swedish regicide: the most absurd and groundless stories were, at the time of his assassinating the king, put in circulation, to make him appear as a monster of cruelty and depravity. His crime was of a nature that excites

abhorrence, but he appears to have been impelled by wrongs inflicted by the victim of his resentment. Mr. Lewis Goldsmith* affirms, that at a very early period of his life, Gustavus the third offered Ankarstrom an insult, that, if truly recited, would have justified the latter in laying the former dead at his feet. It was said, that the spirited young Swede struck the prince, and long afterwards continued to speak of him with contempt, and avoid those places where he was most likely to meet him. The enmity thus created lasted throughout their lives, and ultimately led to their untimely death. Whether from personal pique, or more honourable motives, Captain Ankarstrom was always conspicuous for the severity of his comments upon the government of Gustavus the Third; and the king is accused of having had recourse to a variety of mean expedients to injure Captain Ankarstrom in his professional career, and irritate his feelings. During the war with Russia, he commanded the troops stationed in the island of Gothland; shortly after which a Russian force effected a landing. As there was

* Crimes of Cabinets, p. 16, &c.—Mr. Goldsmith, by an important error, made Captain Ankarstrom governor of the province of East Gothland, one of the most valuable gifts at the disposal of the crown.—He was sent by the king into an honourable banishment, and the *island* of Gothland was appointed for his residence. He commanded the few troops stationed in that remote island, and thence he acquired the honorary title of Governor of Gothland.

no competent force, nor any forts, nor place of refuge, and the whole island would have been given up to pillage in case of resistance: it became the duty of a governor to surrender, in order to save the inhabitants from massacre, and their property from destruction. After the king's return from Finland in 1788, he received information that Captain Ankarstrom was engaged in active correspondence with the nobles, who encouraged the officers of the Finland troops to mutiny; and who were then consulting on the bold expedient of assembling a diet in the absence of the king, with the view to dethrone him. When Gustavus caused the accused officers to be tried, Captain Ankarstrom was arraigned of treason, and the only proof offered was, that he had advised the people of Gothland not to take up arms against the Russians! When party spirit ran mountains high, and the dissenting officers were held in such scorn by the populace, that they scarcely dared to shew themselves in the streets of Stockholm, it is not wonderful that among the lowest inhabitants of Gothland persons should be found to give that kind of evidence, which, when repeated before a court martial, made up of the king's creatures, should sanction his conviction. He was sentenced to TWENTY YEARS confinement in a fortress to be named by the king! The noble prisoner heard the sentence, not only unawed, but with calm contempt: he was more disturbed by a PARDON from the king, which he could not

evade, and never solicited. When this was announced, he said, "*I would rather perish through "the enmity of the king, than live dishonoured by his "clemency.* I am innocent of the charges fabrica- "ted against me, that were sustained by suborned "evidence. My unjust judges know this. I "demanded justice, it was denied me; and I "consider this exemption from an unrighteous "judgment, not as a favour, but a matter of right." When Captain Ankarstrom was released, he was as well received in the fashionable circles as if he had not been accused; and the general effect of these proceedings was very unfavourable to the reputation of the king.*

The disordered state of the finances drove this monarch to many shifts to raise money or liquidate debts, that were radically dishonest; amongst others, by virtue of the sign manual he diminished, by *one-third*, the value of the state paper currency; thus, the dollar, which at par was four shillings and sixpence sterling, was reduced to *three shillings!* —A reduction so violent and sudden in the value of the paper currency that was then afloat, to an amount far greater than that of bank notes at the present day in England, the comparative wealth of the two kingdoms considered, could not fail to produce discontent, poverty, and the total ruin of many. It happened that, just at this period,

* "The conduct of Gustavus the Third towards the delinquents "brought to trial, seems to have been an absurd mixture of clemency "and severity."—Vide New Annual Register, 1790, p. 54.

Captain Ankarstrom had sold landed property to the value of three hundred thousand dollars, the amount of which he received in paper, at par; and, as it was reported in Sweden to the author, the very next day the depreciation ensued, by which that individual lost one-third of the produce of his estates. There were heavy and general accusations against the king of favouring his creatures, by giving them a hint of what was likely to ensue: be that as it might, the thing was unjust, and it operated so strongly on the mind of Ankarstrom, that he is said to have made a vow to God upon his knees, that he would avenge his wrongs by shedding the blood of his oppressor. —The resentment that glowed thus intensely in *his* bosom, burnt with equal fierceness in those of his friends and connections. About this period a conspiracy was formed, consisting of persons determined to dethrone or murder the king; and for the last three months preceding his fall, scarcely a week elapsed in which he was not pursued by his determined foes. The hour of his death was often fixed prior to his journey to Gefle, and as often deferred, owing to the intervention of different obstacles. He was followed to Gefle, but no opportunity occurring, the conspirators chased him back to the capital. This happened on the first of March, and on the second the king was expected to attend at a grand masquerade, where Ankarstrom, provided with the instruments of death, took his station; but the

king did not make his appearance, or he had probably fallen that night. So many failures would have intimidated men of ordinary minds, and made them desist from an unhallowed enterprize that Providence seemed to avert. But nothing could shake the fixed resolve of Captain Ankarstrom, who made up his mind to the belief that, from polluted morals and violated oaths, the king had forfeited God's protection, and it was morally right to kill him for the safety and welfare of society; but, that God would still require the blood of him by whose hands that of the king might be shed, whose soul would be saved, if he died a sincere penitent.* From the enthusiasm that filled his mind, Ankarstrom would as readily have killed the king in a church as in a theatre.

A small pavilion, situate at Haga, distant about a league from Stockholm, was the favorite residence of Gustavus. The road to Haga leads through Drottning Gatan (Queen-street), in which is a noted tavern called *Mon Bijou.* It was proposed to cause an obstruction by means of carts and waggons opposite this spot, and to shoot the king during the delay it might occasion: it was next resolved, if possible, to kill the king at Haga, or, to seize his person as he walked in the park, and carry

* There seems, a sort of analogy to exist between the religious opinions of Ankarstrom and our assassin Bellingham; both were endowed with an equal degree of fortitude, and met their fate with the same resignation.

him off to a seat belonging to Count Ribbing, and there confine him *in secret* till a diet should have decided on his fate: both these plans were found impracticable. About a week before the catastrophe so often menaced, really took place, a grand ball was to have been given by the court, which was unexpectedly deferred. At last, on the 16th of March, a grand masquerade was announced to be given at the opera house, which was expected to attract an assembly of spectators unusually numerous, and this was instantly seized on for the execution of their fell purpose.

Just as the king's dresser was decorating him for this spectacle, a letter met his eye, addressed "*To his Majesty the King.*" "*Secret and important.*" Gustavus took it up, looked inquisitively at the hand-writing, and then flung it carelessly on the dressing-table. A thought that he knew the hand-writing induced him to take it up once more, when he read as follows:

"SIRE!

"Deign to listen to the advice of a man, who not being attached to your service, nor solicitous for your favour, flatters not your crimes, but who is still desirous of averting the danger with which you are threatened.

"Be assured that a plot is formed to assassinate you. Those who have entered into it are furious at being foiled last week by the ball being countermanded. They have resolved to execute

their schemes this day. Remain at home,* and avoid balls the remainder of the year; thus the fanaticism of criminality will be suffered to evaporate.

"Do not endeavour to discover the author of this letter: the damnable project against your life is come to his knowledge by accident; be assured, however, that he has no interest whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate.

"If your mercenary troops had made use of any violence against the citizens at Gefle, the writer of this letter would have fought you sword in hand, but he detests assassination."

Such were the mystical words contained in this anonymous letter. The king was observed to turn pale as he read it, and to look gloomy and thoughtful, as if he were undetermined how to act. Baron Bjelke,† the king's private secretary, was present, who knew the hand-writing, though disguised; he was one of the conspirators, but such was his self-command, he did not exhibit the least symptom of alarm, though certain that

* The writer, by using these words, probably meant to admonish the king against his meditated voyage to France; where it was known he intended to effect a landing, with the hope of being joined by the royalists in Normandy, and enabled to march to Paris.

† Most of these particulars, and many others that follow, relative to Ankarstrom, the king, &c. were translated from a Swedish MS. written at Stockholm by a person who belonged to the household of the king: it was never published. They are fairly translated, but the author dares not vouch for their accuracy.

he was betrayed. The king handed him the letter, saying, "Read: and tell me what you think of it."—"It appears to me, Sire," said the treacherous adviser, "to be written by some one who writes to *intimidate* your majesty, and prevent you from partaking of any public amusement.."—"*Intimidate me!*" exclaimed Gustavus with strong emphasis, and looks expressive of disdain: "What mortal can do that?—I never heed such trumpery! Were I to notice all the admonitions I receive I should never enjoy a moment's rest, but expect assassination every hour!"—Such was the subtle artifice to which Baron Bjelke had recourse to prevent Colonel Lillehorn's letter taking effect, and to drive the unsuspecting monarch into the toils of his enemies.* Let Gustavus have been as wicked a prince as ever disgraced a throne, the confidential servant who could act thus treacherously could be no less depraved. Seeing the king eyeing the hand-writing, the insidious traitor said, "It may, however, contain a friendly warning, and, if I might presume, I should, with all humility, suggest that the masquerade be countermanded; in which case, if the letter is genuine, the danger will be avoided, and the conspirators detected.—"And if it is a mockery," rejoined Gustavus, "the insolent writer will say *the king was frightened!*—I am resolved to go!"—

* The family of the Bjelkes is one of the oldest in Sweden, and of native origin. Summaila Bjelka was second consort to John the Third, second son of Gustavus the First.

As soon as he could withdraw, Baron Bjelke went to execute a signal agreed on, namely, if the king were *sure* to be at the masquerade, he was, at a certain hour, to send his watch to be repaired by a goldsmith and watchmaker, and if the kind would not be there, then a snuff-box. Count Ribbing was to be in waiting at the shop, which was in the Drottning Gatan. The baron concealed their danger from his accomplices, and sent the watch. He next went to his own apartment, burnt several letters, that, if discovered, might have implicated persons of higher rank, and armed himself with a small dose of a peculiarly powerful animal poison imported from Asia, and concealed a lancet under the embroidery of his coat. On his return to the palace, he found the king was just ready to set off. Notwithstanding the incitements so artfully applied by Baron Bjelke, Gustavus really wavered, and was undetermined whether to go or not. Count d'Essen strenuously advised the king to desist from his intention, and to encourage the author of the letter to avow himself; but the dread of exciting the contempt even of an anonymous correspondent, and the false shame arising from excessive pride, urged him to his fate! That contempt of personal danger, and impatience of unpalateable advice, that ever marked his character, decided his destiny. Baron Bjelke arrived before the king, and placed himself next to Ankarstrom. Gustavus delayed his entry so long that the conspirators

thought they were betrayed, or should be again disappointed. "It seems as if we are not to have the honor of seeing the king to-night?" said Ankarstrom, in an indifferent manner. "*Fear not*," said Baron Bjelke, "you will not be disappointed." In a few minutes a flourish of trumpets announced the approach of the royal victim, who entered the saloon leaning on the arm of the count d'Essen: his majesty's countenance was as usual, cheerful and animated, and he seemed to be discoursing on some gay subject with the count. Although the countenance of Gustavus bore no trace of the impression produced by the anonymous letter, its warning was evidently uppermost; for almost as soon as he had arrived in the grand saloon, he said to the count, "I was right in treating the letter with contempt: if there had existed any plot against my life, it would have been executed before I arrived at this place." The count bowed, and said with great gravity, "May your majesty's opinion be verified." Many an angry countenance burning with deadly malice, was fixed upon the king, whose quick and piercing eye caught a glance that awakened all his apprehensions. Instantly he determined to retire, and was actually making his way through the masked crowd, holding the Prussian minister by his arm, when he felt himself obstructed and surrounded. The chief conspirators were close to his person, and they inserted themselves between the king and his company. He felt himself borne along, and

attempted to make a stand near a scene, towards which he turned his back; behind this scene the cautious and inflexible Ankarstrom took his stand. Nothing could be more calm or collected than his carriage; not a nerve shook, not a pang touched his heart: in order that his victim might not escape, nor any other individual perish by mistake, whilst his right hand grasped the fatal pistol, with his left he touched the king on his left shoulder, who quickly turning his head to see by whom that freedom was taken, removed all doubt as to his identity, and then placing the muzzle of the pistol against his loins, he pulled the fatal trigger. The moment the report was heard, the conspirators shouted "*Fire! fire!*" as loud as possible, to create confusion, and afford Ankarstrom an opportunity of getting rid of the weapons he had about his person, and the conspirators to escape. The assassin did not, however, retire, but seeing the king yet erect, he grasped the notched and jagged pointed knife to plunge its blade into his body, when the purpose was prevented by seeing the king fall. Only a few moments elapsed between Ankarstrom's pulling the trigger and grasping the knife; but even that pause filled the conspirators with alarm lest the king should have escaped without a mortal wound. Count d'Essen, the king's grand equerry, the instant he heard the report of the pistol, called in a loud voice to the guards at the doors, to close them, and suffer no person to depart.

The king's attendants hastened round him to bear him to a couch, which was soon stained by the blood that issued from his wound. Meantime the utmost confusion prevailed in the saloon, during which Ankarstrom let fall the weapons he had concealed. The report soon got abroad that the king was murdered in the opera house; all the avenues were filled with military, and the whole edifice surrounded. Amidst this dreadful uproar, the wounded king displayed the utmost composure and presence of mind. As soon as he could make himself heard, which, at first, was not possible, he gave orders for the city gates to be closed; and addressing himself to the foreign ministers who crowded round him, he said to them: "I have given orders, gentlemen, that the gates of the city shall be kept shut for three days, during which time you will not be able to dispatch couriers to your respective courts; but, your intelligence will be the more certain, as by that time it will probably be ascertained whether or not I can survive!"—During the time he was speaking, the cold sweat that rose on his pallid face, plainly denoted the excess of agony he endured; meantime he directed that the most prompt and decisive measures should be adopted for the discovery of the assassin. Every person in the saloon, without exception, were required to take off their masks, to submit to be searched for concealed weapons, and to write their names and additions in books prepared for that purpose.

Either by chance or design, it happened that Ankarstrom was the very last person called upon to write his name. The chamberlain Benzelstjerna, stood opposite, as if to observe his manner and countenance. Captain Ankarstrom advanced in the most firm and collected manner; and having wrote his name, &c. he said in a cool and mild tone—"Have you any thing further, Sir, to require of me?" "Nothing more," said the chamberlain in reply. They bowed to each other, and Ankarstrom then walked deliberately to the anterooms, where he put on his pelisse and fur cap, and went directly home. Retiring to his bed-room, the murderer bent his knee, and merciless as he had proved himself by the deed just committed, he prayed earnestly for mercy from his Creator, acknowledged the heinous nature of his offence in shedding the blood of a fellow-creature, whilst the tears poured in profusion down his cheeks. At the conclusion of his prayers, he exclaimed, "By this act, I destroy myself and injure my family; but I shall save the lives of many thousands whom this monster would have led to slaughter in distant lands; and, I trust, I have rescued my country from destruction!" Having thus relieved his over-fraught heart, he assumed his usual manner; ordered his servant to bring him a biscuit and a glass of wine and water, and then, with every external mark of tranquillity, retired to bed, perhaps to repose. Such was the conduct of Captain Ankarstrom, after having

wounded the king in the dastardly way described.

The king's surgeons having examined the wound, and the direction in which the pistol had been fired, saw at once how small was the chance of their royal patient's recovery. During this operation that was excruciatingly painful, the king displayed that intense fortitude which few mortals ever possessed in a higher degree. As the surgeon applied his probe, the king thought his hand shook: suppressing the sense of pain, he said with a firm voice, "Do not suffer your sorrow to affect your hand! Remember, Sir, it is not possible I can survive if the balls are not extracted."—The surgeon paused a moment, as if to collect all his courage, and extracted a ball and some slugs. On his way from his palace to the opera-house a few hours before, Gustavus stepped lightly down the broad flights of granite stairs to the vestibule below. He was now carried slowly back, stretched on a litter borne on the shoulders of grenadiers, whose slightest motion gave him inexpressible pain. Like the palace itself, the grand stair-case is of stupendous dimensions. The massive balustrades are composed of polished marble; the broad steps of hewn granite; and the ornaments of colossal proportions, finely drawn and executed, are in strict conformity to the vast and beautiful outline of this grand edifice. The king's unwieldly state-coach, with a triple row of guards on either

side, might, apparently, have ascended. Although the portals were closed as soon as the king had entered, and none but courtiers and soldiers admitted, and even those not without selection, the whole of the colossal stairs were crowded to excess. Not a few of the ministers were clad in state dresses; and most of the courtiers and household officers still had on the fanciful robes worn at the fatal masquerade. This great diversity of splendid costume, the melancholy state of the king, stretched on the bier, laying on his side, his pale face resting on his right-hand, his features expressive of pain subdued by fortitude, the varied countenances of the surrounding throng, wherein grief, consternation, and dismay were forcibly depicted; the blaze of numerous torches and flambeaux borne aloft by the military; the glitter of burnished helmets, embroidered and spangled robes, mixed with the flashes of drawn sabres and fixed bayonets; the strong and condensed light thrown on the king's figure, countenance, litter, and surrounding group; the deep, dark masses of shade that seemed to flitter high above and far below the principal group, and the occasional illumination of the vast and magnificent outline of the structure, formed, on the whole, a spectacle more grand, impressive, and picturesque, than any state or theatrical procession, on the arrangement of which the tasteful Gustavus had ever been engaged. In the midst of excruciating agonies his eyes lost not their

brilliancy, and his finely expressive features displayed the triumph of fortitude over pain. Terrible and sudden as was this disaster, it did not deprive him of self-possession; he seemed more affected by the tears that trickled down the hard yet softened features of the veterans who had fought by his side, than by the wound that too probably would soon end his life. As the bearers of the royal litter ascended from flight to flight he raised his head, evidently to obtain a better view of the grand spectacle of which he formed the central, and principal object. When he arrived at the grand gallery level with the state apartments, he made a sign with his hand that the bearers should halt, and looking wistfully around him, he said to Baron Armfelt (who wept and sobbed aloud), "how strange it is I should rush upon my fate after the recent warnings I had received! My mind foreboded evil; I went reluctantly, impelled as it were by an invisible hand!—I am fully persuaded when a man's hour is come, it is in vain he strives to elude it!" After a short pause, he continued, "perhaps my hour is not yet arrived; I would willingly live, but am not afraid to die. If I survive, I may yet trip down these flights of steps again;—and if I die—why then, inclosed in my coffin, my next descent will be on my road to the Gustavianska graf i Riddarholm Kyrkan."* Gustavus spoke slowly, and in a low tone of voice.

* To the Gustavian Mausoleum in Riddarholm Church.

The pause was awful: every one seemed anxious in the extreme to catch a view of his person, or even the most distant murmur of his voice, and not a tearless eye was to be seen. Several of the principal characters holding a torch in their left-hand, threw their cloaks over their face with their right to conceal their excessive emotion. Gustavus was, perhaps, the most collected of the motley throng; and as soon as the violence of feeling had a little subsided he gave the signal to proceed. The lofty folding doors of the grand saloon were then thrown open, which were closed as soon as the principal persons had passed within, and the mournful cavalcade proceeded through the magnificent suite of state apartments to the royal bed-chamber, where the litter was gently rested, and the king carefully lifted to the couch whence he arose no more!

After Gustavus had rested about two hours, at his express command, and contrary to the advice of his physician and surgeons, and to the entreaties of his brother, the Duke Charles, of Soderman-land, the list of persons who had been present at the masquerade was read to him by Baron Armfelt. During this time the surgeons and attendants were ordered to retire, and the king commanded Armfelt to mark with a pencil such names as he suspected. Before the latter began to read, the king said, "tell me, my dear Armfelt, is the name of *Ankarstrom* amongst them?" "Yes, sire," the minion replied, "and the very last name upon the list!" The king looked gloomy, shook his head,

and said, "*my mind forbodes that that man has been my murderer.*"

Whilst wild afright and deep dismay prevailed throughout the vast extent of the royal palace, all the avenues to which were strongly guarded; as day-light approached the alarm extended itself to every quarter, and Stockholm presented the appearance of a populous city about to be suddenly invested by a powerful enemy.

Not only were the gates shut, but guarded by loaded cannon; and cannon were also placed in the principal avenues leading towards the palace, and the gunners attended with lighted matches. Strong parties of horse and foot soldiers paraded the streets. Ere morning dawned, the news was spread from one extremity of Stockholm to the other, that the king had been assassinated the preceding night. The shock thus given to public feeling was very great; and notwithstanding all the errors of the king, and the marked unpopularity of the war that he was about to wage; to the credit of the Swedes, sorrow for the king, indignation and rage against the assassins, were the predominant emotions. Thousands and tens of thousands of Swedes were radically disgusted by the king's inordinate and restless ambition, and who might, if the conspirators had openly taken up arms, have joined the standard of insurrection; but they abhorred assassination, and would rather have supported Gustavus and have endured all the calamities in which he might have involved his

country, than have removed him by such foul and dastardly means.

Even in the grand saloon of the opera-house, suspicion fell upon those noblemen present, whose opinions were known to be most hostile to the king's government and politics. Gustavus recollecting the mysterious or equivocal expressions used by Baron Bjelke, suspected him; and the anonymous letter was imputed to Colonel Lillehorn. But the most certain and direct clue to the actual assassin was furnished by the weapons found on the floor of the saloon. The pistols were recognised by the gunsmith, who had repaired them; the knife by the cutler that had sold it, and both referred to the same individual, namely, Captain Ankarstrom!—When he was ordered to be taken into custody, the officers of justice expected and were prepared for a desperate resistance. He saw them approach; he rose unarmed to meet them, saying in a mild tone of voice, "You may approach safely,—I know your errand; I have done *my* duty, you may do yours."—A temporary regency having been appointed, General Baron Armfelt was one of the members; but not the duke of Sodermanland,—not Sophia Magdalena,—nor even the young crown prince himself, shewed such marks of extravagant grief, as that wicked and perfidious minion. When Ankarstrom was under his first examination, Armfelt asked the name of his accomplices, threatening him with the most terrible of tortures if he refused to con-

fess. The prisoner stood with his arms folded, and his head erect; his features shewed that sort of gloomy firmness that fears neither torture nor death. Hearing Armfelt's threat, he turned full upon the speaker, and eyeing him with ineffable disdain, said slowly and scornfully, "Presume not, audacious criminal, to expect I shall obey thee. It was thy polluted example and contagious vileness that rendered the unfortunate king false to his oath, —that initiated him in crimes unknown on Swedish ground,—that rendered him a stain to manhood, and a scourge to his people."—"Silence! audacious traitor," fiercely exclaimed the enraged Armfelt, "thou art the murderer of the best and most virtuous of kings: terrible is thy guilt, and terrible shall be thy punishment."—In a tone of exultation, the enthusiast replied, "*Thou* art that which I am called! *thy* name is already a term of reproach, and never shall *thy* bones mingle with Swedish earth! The babe unborn shall bless my hand for the deed it hath performed. I have voluntarily sacrificed myself to rid nature of a monster, and my suffering country of a perjured tyrant!" —His manner seemed almost to awe the officers of justice; it was evident that he had wrought his mind to such a degree of enthusiasm, that he considered the deed as one acceptable to God, and beneficial to man. Yet the mode in which he had executed his dire project, was marked by peculiar cruelty and cowardice. Rusty nails were put into the pistol, the wounds inflicted by which are pecu-

liarly dangerous, from being so much more liable to gangrene. A deep indentation was made with a file, slanting towards the point of the knife, intending, if he had plunged it into the body of his victim, to have turned it in the wound, and have thereby caused such laceration as should prove incurable: and he shot his victim in the back! His motive for adopting these horrid and malignant plans, certainly might, as he alleged, be grounded in the importance he attached to the effectual destruction of the king. Ankarstrom observed, that he had taken no precaution for his own safety, neither by concealment nor flight; but, if he had previously intended to suffer the punishment due to the act, how came it he did not give himself up in the opera-house, and avow the deed as soon as it was perpetrated? He might, indeed, wish to favor the escape of his friends who were in the saloon. He admitted his own criminality; he openly exulted in its success; but most firmly exculpated every other person, and if Colonel Lillehorn had not betrayed the whole of the active conspirators, Ankarstrom would probably have been the only criminal on whose head the stroke of justice could have alighted. Between the first and second examination, M. Lillesparre, the minister of police, gave orders that Ankarstrom should not be allowed either knife, fork, or any thing whereby he might destroy himself. Upon his next examination, he drew a lancet from the sleeve of his pelisse, which he handed to

Lillesparre, saying, "Behold how futile would all your precautions have proved, if my hand had not been restrained by religion from attempting suicide. I might have escaped your power and your vengeance; but my firm reliance on Christianity, and on another and a better world, has taught me that I am a sinner, and I must suffer for my sins. The law of God and man require my death on the scaffold, and I am content to meet my doom." Surprised at this conduct, M. Lillesparre gave secret orders to discover, if possible, by whom this instrument had been handed to the prisoner: but all inquiries proved useless. This lancet had been handed to him in prison, from Baron Bjelke, by a trusty agent, who belonged to the police. By drawing the lancet across a jugular artery, Baron Bjelke intimated the dreadful purpose to which he expected and wished it should be applied by Ankarstrom.

Baron Bjelke was in the saloon when Gustavus received his death wound; he saw him fall, and he secretly rejoiced as he heard the surgeon, in an ante-chamber, say, he had no hope whatever that the king could recover. He accompanied the king back to the great palace, to glean all the intelligence he could for the information of his accomplices. When Baron Bjelke was denounced by Lillehorn, the king was greatly affected, well remembering how artfully this traitor had excited him to go forth and meet his fate. The indignation of the *king's friend*, (as Armfelt and other minions,

his worst enemies, were called) was no less vivid against Baron Bjelke than Ankarstrom. The baron was well informed of every thing intended, and just before his own arrest, swallowed a dose of poison, and sent the lancet to Ankarstrom. At the moment the baron was brought before the minister of police as a state prisoner, Armfelt was present. When he was asked if he were privy to the conspiracy formed against the king, he replied in a tone of savage triumph, "Aye! I sent the monster to the masquerade; the blessed hand of Ankarstrom gave him his passport to eternity." Armfelt, pale with rage and dismay, said fiercely, "Confess who else was concerned in the murder, or the rack shall tear thee limb from limb." With a ghastly smile expressive of intense scorn and inextinguishable hatred, his features distorted and blackened by convulsion, Baron Bjelke fixed his glaring eye balls on Armfelt, and exclaimed in a voice horribly dissonant, "Caitiff! I defy thee! the hand of death is already strong upon me; my secrets die with me: my friends live to revenge on thee!" With these words he fell, and presently expired; writhing in horrible agonies, foaming at the mouth, his eyeballs almost starting from their sockets At this sight, an indiscribable horror seized on every one present. Armfelt, pale and trembling, ordered the corpse to be instantly cast out of the room; which, being thrown upon a common sledge, was drawn to the place of execution, and there exposed on a stage to public view, and afterwards

buried under the gallows; where, however, it did not long remain, but was privately removed, and interred in consecrated earth. The Counts Claes Fredericksen Horn, and Adolf Ludwig Ribbing, Baron Carl Ehrensvard, Jacob Von Engerstrom; Major Von Hermansdorff, General Baron Pechlin, and a petty judge named Nordel, were the chief persons arrested, (exclusive of Captain Ankarstrom and Baron Bjelke), and chiefly on the information obtained from Lieutenant-Colonel Carl Pontus Lillehorn.

Ankarstrom was secretly informed by Baron Bjelke of the treachery committed by Colonel Lillehorn. He shed tears profusely, bitterly bewailing the destruction it would bring upon his friends and accomplices. And as if he were more ashamed of a falsehood having escaped his lips, than an act of assassination performed by his hand, he seized the earliest opportunity to inveigh with much bitterness against Colonel Lillehorn for having sanctioned every project formed against the king, apparently for no other purpose but to destroy those whom he betrayed. Ankarstrom apologised for his former declaration, by avowing that he had himself been the principal instigator of his noble accomplices, and he wished to have been the only victim of offended justice. He then confirmed most of the particulars that had been already proved by incontrovertible evidence; but nothing could extort any thing additional. It was repeatedly attempted to wring from his lips some

confirmation of the suspicions entertained against General Baron Pechlin, but in vain. Soon after these examinations, a paper was privately circulated at Stockholm, which had been written by Ankarstrom, which is subjoined.* It is still an

* *Copy of a Paper circulated at Stockholm, as to the Confession of John Jacob Ankarstrom.*

"Notwithstanding I was asked, at my first examination in the chamber of police, if I had written, or was privy to the anonymous letter which was sent to the king, the evening preceding the unfortunate masquerade; and which letter was to this effect:—"I am certainly dissatisfied with your government; I cannot, however, approve of the shocking plan which is to be put in practice against you this night at the masquerade. I therefore beg of you not to go there; it was intended to have been executed last week; but as the masquerade was then postponed, it is resolved on for to-night."—I denied, as well in the chamber of police, as afterwards, before the Hoff Rätt, having had any accomplice in that shocking action. But, when I was last Monday evening taken before Lillesparre (chief of police), to be again examined, I was informed that the person who had written the letter was arrested. Some letters which I had written to Count Horn, were shown to me; also a cutlass, which the count had borrowed, and some other matters that he had disclosed; all which I acknowledged. I was afterwards informed that the count was under arrest, and his residence had been searched; which circumstances led me to believe, that he had confessed the whole affair: if it was not so, the whole was betrayed by the *infamous* author of the anonymous letter. I say *infamous*, for if he had acted with candor, he would have dissuaded

interesting document. The manner in which he speaks of the act he had committed, shews that he considered it as a great offence. The original manuscript contained much more matter than appears

us from such a step, and without being compelled, he would not have discovered it. These reasons convinced me, that all further concealment would be useless: I shall therefore candidly state my reasons for undertaking that shocking action.

"In the year 1789, when infamous pasquinades were permitted to be published against the army and its officers, the violence used by the king towards the members of the diet, and others of his subjects, must certainly have aroused the indignation of every Swede not rendered callous by self-interest. These acts produced loud murmurs; the *act* of *safety*, (försäkrings act), followed, which annulled every article in the constitution of 1772, by which the power of the king was limited. Exclusive of the revenue of the crown, the king, at every diet, obtained money of his subjects; notwithstanding which, an enormous debt was brought forward, which the king had incurred: and finally, he went to the hall of the nobles, with the view of obtaining their consent to the payment; having found by experience, that the marshal of the diet, notwithstanding the infamous measures to which he had recourse, could not influence the nobles to agree to any grant for an unlimited time: and although the king went to the hall, followed by a lawless rabble, who had been treated with strong liquors at the king's expense, who filled the streets and squares of the city with noise and uproar, rushing into the house when the king approached, so that it was with the utmost difficulty the rabble were prevented from getting into the hall itself: the question was answered

in that which was circulated. In the former, he went into the history of those transactions which first created that personal enmity he felt towards the king; the wrongs and insults he had endured from

with more *yeas* than *nays*. In consequence of which, many members desired it might be put to the vote; but it was looked upon by the court party as granted. Some of the members of the diet were afterwards confined in different castles, without any one knowing for what reason. As to those who were released, it was to be received as a favor conferred on the nobility generally, and themselves personally. All this, and much more was done, after one of the greatest offences the king could commit, and which was a complete violation of the constitution, namely, commencing a war without the consent of the states, and without sufficient reason. These things could not fail to produce great uneasiness in the public mind, and hostile feelings against the person who had practised them, in the breast of every one who had sense to feel for the safety and liberty of his fellow-citizens; especially when rendered still more disgusting when emanating from a king who is respected, esteemed, and of consequence *on account of the nation by whom he is maintained;* for a king is in himself *only a sinner*, but has the confidence of the nation to respect the laws, liberty and safety; and of course to take care that things are properly conducted when the representatives of the nation are not assembled. This violation by the king of all the duties of his office, filled every mind with melancholy reflections, and totally alienated my affections from the king. My aversion was still farther increased, by seeing so many thousands of my fellow-countrymen consigned to a premature grave, by *murder* rather than combat; and my fellow-citizens

that source, and the manœuvres by which he had been arraigned, and his condemnation procured; those parts were, however, omitted, and the rest was, probably, mutilated.

oppressed by intolerable grants and taxes, and ruined by *paper-money*;—and all to gain what was called from the throne, *a glorious peace*. Useless and expensive journies into foreign parts were undertaken, which consumed enormous treasure; and loans were made to a still larger amount. When by these acts of folly and profusion, we were reduced to the most unfortunate condition; only *three* weeks before its commencement, a diet was proclaimed; so that elections and journies were obliged to be made with the utmost haste without any adequate necessity. Besides which the king adopted every possible means of preventing the independent and well-informed from attending the diet, which was appointed to be held at a remote place, that it might be expensive and inconvenient to the independent members; and also to requite the citizens of Stockholm for their indefatigable zeal and expense during the war, which was very great, by which means the debts of the state would be increased.

These facts forced the following reflections on my mind:—*Can he be king* of the country who is capable of violating the oath he took to the people, to observe, to govern by, and to comply with the constitution he settled in 1772; which this same king had himself drawn up; which the nation received without alteration; and by whom the nation is deprived of its safeguard? My mind answered no! I *am convinced that by all laws, human or divine, the murderer, the false-swearer, the violator of the laws, can never be our king!* As soon as the king has violated his oath and covenant in one instance, *the*

Meantime, the foreign ministers at Stockholm, particularly the Spanish and Prussian, remonstrated against being debarred from dispatching couriers to their respective courts; and the latter

whole compact ceases: the people swore that if the king governed according to the constitution, they will regard and receive him as their king, and be faithful to him. In one section of the constitution of 1772, there are words to the following purport, viz. "whoever endeavours to change or overturn this fundamental law, shall be looked on as an enemy to his country."—When the *act of safety* was passed, and the king governed according to that act; and no longer by the constitution of 1772, the king convicted himself of being an enemy to his people and his kingdom: in consequence *he is their enemy;* and as it is the duty of every man in society to endeavour to defend his fellow-citizens from such as commit violence upon the person or property of his neighbour; and when there is no legal remedy, no means to arraign or punish by the law, it becomes lawful to oppose violence by violence. These reflections determined me shortly after Christmas *to kill the king*. I did not depend upon any one else, nor lay any plan; I, however, reflected much, whether the king might not by fair means be brought to govern with mildness, and according to the law; the reasons which forbade this hope were, that, to effect this plan, a number of persons would have been necessary, which would have caused a discovery, and put us all in the same unfortunate situation as the officers of Finland, without doing any good. The king was more than gracious to individuals; but when any thing was required or insisted upon that was indispensible to the public

demanded a passport, which it was not thought advisable to withhold. It was in vain that bulletins were published, holding out illusive hopes of the king's ultimate recovery. Ankarstrom seemed

welfare, he became angry, as every thing was to be done according to his will and pleasure, no matter how prejudicial, which I judged to be the case from what had happened in 1789. I, therefore, thought it best to risk my life for the public good: I valued as nothing dragging on a miserable existence for ten years longer when compared with the pleasure of making a nation happy. My own misfortunes which happened at the end of the year 1790 and 1791, together with those reflections and wishes for the public happiness, made me determine to devote myself rather than suffer a miserable existence, and behold my native country overwhelmed with new calamities arising from a wicked and selfish despot. This rendered my otherwise tender heart insensible to the horror of this dreadful action."

Extracts from the minutes of the sentences, pronounced on persons convicted of having been concerned in a conspiracy against Gustavus the Third: taken at the palace of Drottingholm, 15th August, 1792.

Counts Claes Fredericksen Horn, and Adolf Ludvig Ribbing, to forfeit their nobility, to be declared infamous, to have their right hand cut off, and be beheaded and quartered.

Lieut. Colonel Carl Pontus Lillehorn, Baron Carl Ehrensward, to be declared infamous, to lose their nobility, and be beheaded.

to anticipate this manœuvre, by the care he took to spread abroad the horrid fact, that he had loaded the pistol with *rusty nails,* in order to prevent the possibility of a cure in case he should fail in his intention of killing the king upon the spot.

Jacob von Engerstroem, to lose his nobility, knighthood, office, and be confined during life in some fortress.

Major Christopher Von Hermansdorff, to lose his majority, and be confined one year.

The Magistrate Nordell, not adjudged.

Baron Pechlin, to be confined at Marstrand, and exhorted by the clergy to confess.

"As we, at the death-bed of his late majesty, discoursed with him relative to his recent misfortune, and the important consequences arising from it, his majesty, whose tender heart was always ready to pardon, was pleased to declare, that the thoughts of the punishment, however well deserved, which awaited those concerned in the crime, afflicted him very much, even more than his own sufferings; adding, that he should not be released from those agonizing reflections till we had promised, nay, sworn to him by our fraternal love and princely honor, that in case of his death, we would suffer his last request to be carried into full effect, namely, to save the lives of those unfortunate subjects who had been so forgetful of their allegiance. Moved even to tears by so generous a solicitude, I ventured, nevertheless, to expostulate, and represented to his majesty, that neither the laws of God nor man would admit nor suffer that so atrocious a crime

Meanwhile, the situation of Gustavus was, in every respect, supremely wretched. He had provided an heir to his throne, by means such as, perhaps, were never attempted by any other mo-

should escape the terrible punishment it so well merited; and that the honor of the Swedish name, as well as the public safety, absolutely required it. His late majesty, greatly moved by these well meant representations, with pain declared that if the rigorous law of retaliation required blood for blood, and his intercession, who was the person most concerned, was not sufficient; and consequently that the criminal who had been unfortunate enough to lay violent hands on his person, could not possibly be spared from death, he then insisted that the death of this individual should be the only one which his death should occasion; giving their lives to all the others who were accused or concerned of participating in this crime without regard to their number, which, at that time it had not been possible to discover, or correctly ascertain. His majesty finally added, that it was not only his last request to me as a brother, but his command as a king, for his power to pardon as long as he existed could neither vanish, nor could he be deprived of it; requiring from me at the same time, the most solemn assurances and sacred promises, which I neither could nor ought any longer refuse. This remarkable and affecting conversation which places the generosity and heart of Gustavus the Third in the most advantageous light, and honors his memory even more than the victory of Svenk Sund, is the foundation on which our gracious resolution and will is to be laid. As a christian, a subject, a brother, a man, we neither can nor ought to recede from the last commands

narch. His brother Charles had *then* acceded to the plan; but *now*, the throne was about to become vacant, and if his brother pleased, he might legally claim the crown. This prospect of

of a dying monarch. He had full privilege to grant a pardon in his own case. When he was in this world, his will was our law; and his brother shall not be stained with the reproach that he deceived him in death.

"We declare therefore, and only in consequence of the reasons just given, that the well deserved capital punishment to which the former Counts Claes Fredericksen Horn, and Adolf Ludvig Ribbing; Lieutenant-colonel Pontus Lillehorn, and Baron Carl Frederick Ehrensward, who have been condemned by the Swea Hoff Rätt shall be changed into banishment for life, with the loss of their nobility, and all other privileges as citizens, letting them be immediately escorted out of the limits of an injured native country, without the least hope of ever being suffered to return to it; forbidding them at the same time, on pain of the death they have now escaped, to dare to make any kind of petition for it: we leave to repentance and their awakened conscience the charge of their further punishment, convinced that such corroding reproaches and guilty lives will be for them a far heavier burden than death itself. We hasten also to let them be immediately banished, that, if it be possible, the remembrance of so unheard-of an act, may by that means be effaced, and which by their detention in castles within the kingdom, would constantly, with new affliction, revive the memory of a misfortune, which is of itself, without any addition, sufficiently heart-breaking. Let those criminals, therefore, immediately and for ever withdraw from the confines of Sweden, whose peace and happiness they have de-

an ignominious exposure is said to have preyed on his mind to such a degree, that it increased the fever occasioned by his wounds, and his mind wandered. He talked incoherently of matters connected with the birth of the crown prince, and of a *divorce;*—he often called on *Muncke*, Armfelt, and Rosenstein; and in defiance of every precaution, these ravings of a disordered mind were reported abroad. A direct application was made by the opposition nobles to the duke of Sodermanland, to convene a diet, in case of the king's death, stating, that if he would accept the constitution of 1772, with such additional restrictrictions as the aggressions of his unfortunate

stroyed; and to complete the measure of their crimes and punishments, let them be informed that it was the king, against whose life they dared conspire, who, dying, has done good for evil, and given the lives of men by whom his own was taken.

"With respect to the others who are accused of this treason; because we, in consequence of his late most sacred majesty's last will and commands before recited, are not entitled to mitigate the rigor of their sentence, neither can we in a case of this nature, permit ourselves to follow the innate bias of our heart for clemency and mercy, but for this reason confirm hereby the final sentence of the supreme court, which has been just read; in consequence of which the counsellor of chancery, J. von Engerstroem, is deprived of his post, and to be confined for three years. Major Hermansdorff is also to lose his commission, and be confined for one year; the royal secretary, Von Engerstroem, to be suspended from his office in the college of chancery,

brother had rendered necessary, they would set aside the succession of the crown prince, and give him the crown. General Baron Armfelt learnt something of this overture, and having always had admission to the king's bedchamber, he would not refrain, though entreated, from disturbing the king by so painful a communication. His real object was, if possible, to exclude the duke from the regency; and by nominating those noblemen who were his own partisans, to attain to the sovereignty in his own hands, and thereby to elevate himself in the eyes of the empress Catharine by the ruin of Sweden.

for one year; Baron Pechlin (Major-general), to be imprisoned during pleasure, till he is brought to confess. But the magistrate, Nordell, according to the sentences of the king's bench and supreme court, is entirely acquitted.

"His royal highness was at the same time graciously pleased to order that the former counsellor of chancery, Von Engerstroem, should be confined in the castle of Waxholm; the late Major Von Hermansdorff, in the castle of Malmo; and Major-general Baron Pechlin, in the castle of Warborg."

"Signed by N. Jannson, Fred. Sparre (lord chancellor)—G. A. Reuterholm; J. Rogberg, Carl Ulner, Carl A. Wachtmeister, A. F. Kurk, E. Ruuth.—At the bottom: "Let this be expedited." Palace of Drottingholm, 15th August, 1792, during my most gracious king and master's minority.

"CHARLES."

Gustavus was vehemently affected at the particulars communicated by Armfelt. He could not rest till his brother Charles was sent for, to whom he made an appeal, solemn and pathetic, whilst the painful emotions by which his heart was torn, almost rendered his voice inarticulate. The duke was deeply affected at the melancholy condition of his brother. He leaned towards him with every mark of powerful sympathy; he pressed his feverish hand, bedewed it with his tears, and readily promised all that was required. Whether Gustavus believed him or not, he seemed to be pacified, and became more composed. They then conversed on the state of public affairs, and of the regency, which the duke refused to accept, unless he were appointed sole regent, and General Baron Armfelt excluded from all political power. The king then told the duke what Armfelt had communicated, and throwing himself on the honor of his brother, readily agreed to all which he had proposed. When the duke left Gustavus, he went to attend a meeting of some of the leading nobles, telling them, in the most decided tone, that however grateful he might feel for their preference, he could not accept it. A long conference ensued, and it was agreed that the war against France should be totally relinquished; the army reduced, and the fleets dismantled; the royal establishment diminished; the building of the grand palace at Haga, and the cathedral church in Stockholm abandoned; that General Baron Armfelt should be excluded from any office

in the state; and as one of the conspirators *must* suffer death, it should be Ankarstrom alone, but that his property should descend to his children, and all the other delinquents should have their lives and property saved, and only be subjected to perpetual banishment.

The duke made these conditions known to his dying brother: some of them were very unpalateable, particularly those which related to the neutrality determined on, instead of the war in which he had resolved to plunge Sweden. Without a pang Gustavus acceded to the conditional pardon demanded for the conspirators; as the peaceable succession of the crown prince was thereby secured; and but for the remonstrances of Count Wachtmeister, and other high law authorities of Sweden, he would have extended forgiveness to Ankarstrom himself. These stipulations being arranged and ratified, the counts Brahe and Fersen waited upon the king. A slight blush tinged the cheeks of Gustavus when these noblemen were conducted by duke Charles to his bed-side. Their manner was solemn and respectful. If their hearts belied their tongues, their features bespoke the most profound grief, and lively sympathy. The king was not behind hand in professions. In a faint voice, he said, "*I can almost rejoice at the wound that has stretched me here, and think its smart overpaid, since it has reconciled me to my friends.*" Gustavus was still the elegant gentleman, being the first in graceful attain-

ments as in rank! How different were the looks and expressions that he now addressed to those noblemen, than when he brow-beat, insulted, and reviled them, and refusing to hear them speak, waved his hand, and averted his face, as a peremptory signal for them to withdraw! No doubt his proud heart felt severely the necessity that impelled him thus to conciliate those whom he feared and hated. It was, however, the only plan whereby he could hope to secure the throne of Sweden for the crown prince; and they assured the king, on their word of honor, and in the most solemn manner, they would repel any attempt that might be made to exclude his heir, provided the articles agreed upon were faithfully observed. The nobles were the more ready for these concessions, from their apprehensions of the consequences of that revolutionary spirit which was rapidly spreading in Sweden, thinking, that if the succession of the crown prince were set aside, attempts might be made to abolish both the monarchy and aristocracy, and erect a republican government. Gustavus felt greatly relieved by the assurances given by those powerful noblemen. It made his mind much easier regarding the succession of the crown prince. He was seldom free from the most excruciating tortures, and, perhaps, the reflections that pressed upon his troubled mind were still more agonizing. His sufferings were intense, but they were borne with exemplary fortitude. As far as his melancholy condition admitted, he paid

attention to the adjustment of his affairs. A quantity of papers, that from the care taken to conceal their contents, have since excited so many conjectures, both in Sweden and out of it, were carefully packed up and sealed with the king's private seal. They were then deposited in an iron chest, that was placed on a stand near the side of the dying monarch's bed. He saw the whole placed therein by the hands of his brother. There were three locks and as many keys to this mysterious chest: one of which, Gustavus handed to the duke, another to Count Wachtmeister, the lord chancellor, and the third to the archbishop of Upsala; each of whom set their seal above the respective key-holes; and this depository was then, as a security against fire, placed within another; and it was the king's solemn injunction that it should not be opened until FIFTY YEARS after his decease, and he ordered it to be deposited in the custody of the chancellor of the university of Upsala; and it was afterwards placed in the library.* This transaction accordingly embittered the king's mind too much, and he became worse immediately after its termination.

It appeared singular in the eyes of the king's attendants that he would not admit the crown prince to his presence; whose inquiries as to the

* The circumstances attendant on this chest were stated vol. i. p. 43, at a time when a different arrangement of this work was intended from that which has since been adopted.

cause of his exclusion were as touching, as his sorrow at the melancholy condition of his supposed father, was heart-felt and sincere. Nor was even the queen admitted to the chamber of the king: the reason assigned was, lest the violence of her grief should agitate and disturb him too much. All the science of the surgeons had been exerted in vain to extract the iron nails that were known to have entered his body; whilst the agonies their efforts occasioned were as terrible to endure as any studied tortures. The attendant physicians prescribed medicines calculated to abate fever, and repel the tendency to mortification. On the morning of the 28th, that fearful symptom presented itself in its most alarming form. The absorbent vessels had already taken up the poison, and livid spots appeared about his loins: even his features were changed, as well as his voice. The chamberlain, Benzelstjerna, had the painful task of communicating to the sufferer the hopelessness of his case, and the near approach of death. The king seemed much affected at the declaration. "How long is it possible that I can live?" said he to Benzelstjerna.—"Would to God, sire," he replied, "I could restore you to health by laying down my own life, you should be instantly healed! It breaks my heart to say that twenty-four hours is the utmost extent to which your majesty's sufferings can be protracted." The faithful attendant covered his face, and wept. Sorrow is contagious: nor was it wonderful, after the

dreadful torments Gustavus had endured, that his mind should begin to lose its energy, and his fortitude to forsake him. For the first time, he was seen to weep profusely, and he bitterly reproached himself for his ill-spent life. He feelingly lamented the errors that had marked his reign: his wandering mind recurred to the events of his early life, ere vice had made a lodgment in his bosom; and it brought his illustrious mother so forcibly to his memory, that he addressed her as if she had been living.—"Ah madam," said he, "if I had followed your excellent council, I might have avoided this dreadful death." Then he named a list of minions whose baseness he execrated and deplored, but chiefly Armfelt, whom he also addressed as if he were present, saying, "Begone from my presence, thou vile parasite; begone! and never come more within my sight: from thy polluted example I learnt nothing but wickedness, and this is the end to which it has brought me." In this manner, wandering from one subject to another, the king wept and raved till he became delirious. He seemed to doze at intervals for a short time, but his distracted brain was still perturbed, and by the distortions of his features, his troubled dreams seemed to present nothing but frightful images. Every hour marked the progress of the deadly poison that had infected his mass of blood. About noon his understanding seemed more perfect, and his agonies less severe. He then asked

to see the Duke Charles, his brother. The latter, dissolved in tears, and almost speechless from grief, approached the bed and knelt by his side. Their tears were mingled as Charles affectionately kissed the forehead of his dying brother. The scene was too affecting for the attendants, who spontaneously withdrew to a greater distance, that their grief might not disturb the royal brothers. The king desired they might totally withdraw, and during upwards of an hour Gustavus and Charles remained together alone. General Baron Armfelt desired to be admitted; he was told in an anti-chamber, that his royal highness, the duke, was with the king. The suspicious and arrogant minion still persisted, when the chamberlain, Benzelstjerna, told him he *must* not enter until he had first received the king's commands. When the well-known name was gently announced, the king exclaimed; "*Armfelt!—What does he want more of me!* God grant I had never seen him! Tell him that his dying king admonishes him to repent, and desires to be spared the pain of seeing him more; but say also, that I forgive, and hope to be forgiven." The chamberlain delivered this unwelcome message, and as Armfelt heard it, the cheeks of the haughty minion assumed a deadly paleness. "The king is delirious," said he, "or I am imposed on. I insist on entering by virtue of my office." "Pardon me," said the chamberlain; "the duke Charles is *now* sole regent: I must take his royal highness's commands." This was de-

cisive. Mortified and abashed Armfelt withdrew, a solitary groom of the chambers opening the doors. Three days before, a double row of pliant courtiers formed a lane of obsequious attendants, each of whom affected to worship the man whom the king honoured!

Up to the period of those appearances that presented unequivocal proofs of near and certain death, it is probable that Gustavus secretly entertained strong hopes of recovery; and that he had not been apprized of the imminent danger of a mortification taking place, nor the rapidity of its possible progress. From that moment, composure, resignation, and fortitude, all forsook him; and when the chief physician advised the duke to retire, as such excessive emotion would only add to the king's sufferings and accelerate the fatal moment, Gustavus exclaimed, in a mournful tone of voice, "Ah! what now avails the pomp that surrounds me. Willingly would I exchange condition with the poorest healthy young cottager in Sweden. Say! can you not procure me, by your art, a short respite? Can nothing avert the blow for three short days?—I ask no more! I have, alas! some painful matters yet to arrange: can neither the knife nor medicine avail?" The physician shook his head, and remained silent; his looks proclaiming the fatal truth. Gustavus then burst anew into tears, whilst the groans extorted by increasing inflammation filled the bosoms of his attendants with horror and dismay. If Ankarstrom could have

seen the king in this dreadful extremity, even his stern bosom would have pitied his victim, and execrated that remorseless vengeance which his hand had inflicted.

Towards the evening he grew more calm, and more earnest in his inquiries of his chaplain, as to his prospects of salvation. He became his own accuser, and perhaps his fiercest enemy might have been less severe. His chaplain exerted all his eloquence to fill with the balm of hope the desolated bosom of his king. To deaden the sense of bodily pain powerful opiates were frequently administered; but still, at intervals, his sufferings continued with unabated intensity. The last night of his existence must have been felt by him as an age of torture. The morning of the 29th was doomed to be the last of his life. Excess of pain, bodily and mental, had enfeebled all his faculties; and his best and kindest friends, hopeless of his recovery, might, from motives of the purest benevolence, have prayed for his speedy dissolution. A lucid interval occurring about eight o'clock, the sacrament, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, was administered; and then, and not till then, the queen was introduced! What a spectacle awaited her! That elegantly-formed prince, whose finely-proportioned person might have served as a model of the human form in its shape nearest to perfect symmetry, lay stretched before her, pale and ghastly, on the bed of death. Those eyes that were wont to beam with intellec-

tual fire, had lost their brilliancy, and flashed intelligence no more; and his fine features, that bespoke an elevated soul, were distorted, and discoloured! presenting a spectacle calculated to excite no less horror than commiseration. The reflections that memory recalled were bitter, and full of misery. The gay, voluptuous prince, by whom her youthful charms had been suffered to fade in wedded celibacy, was now become an appalling object, and almost insensate. Although the queen had been warned of the terrible change that had recently taken place, and even that the king might be expected to expire in her presence; and although the sensibilities of her heart had long since been blunted and chilled, yet, when she beheld the dying monarch, she gave a shrill, convulsive shriek, and would have fallen prostrate, but for the Duke Charles, who caught her in his arms, and led, or rather carried her to a chair. As soon as the queen recovered, the king made signs she should approach his bed, and feebly waved his hand that the attendants might withdraw. What passed during this awful interview can only be conjectured. The king could not support a conversation; and as for this unhappy lady, her feelings must have been too much agitated for her to give utterance to her thoughts. The duke alone possessed any degree of self-command; and he must have interpreted between the dying king, and the disconsolate queen. Perhaps she was merely called to witness his contrition; to exchange for-

giveness, and to be satisfied that after the decease of Gustavus, *her son* would find no obstacle in his succession to the crown. The interview was not resolved on, till the vital spark was more than half extinguished; in which state, it could not be of long duration. As the duke led the weeping queen back to her apartment from the chamber of death, her face was covered by a thick veil, but her sobs, her heaving bosom, and unsteady steps, sufficiently denoted the excessive mental agony by which her whole frame was so violently shaken. Perhaps this interview hastened the release of the king from indescribable wretchedness and agony. After the queen had retired, Gustavus spoke no more: every minute his efforts to respire grew more and more feeble, and in less than an hour the king drew his last breath, apparently expiring in the cruelest tortures, arising from an active inflammation. Thus was nature still merciful, as the mortification of which he died relieved him from pangs as severe as ever any mortal endured. No friend nor relative was there to perform the last solemn duties of humanity; which were honorably discharged by his attendants. His last moments were witnessed, and his eyes closed by his first chaplain, physician, and M. Benzelstjerna. Those gentlemen were kneeling round the bed of the royal sufferer, when the frightful rattling in his throat ceased. The clergyman, lifting up his hands and eyes as to his Creator, exclaimed, with strong emotion,

"Thank God! his earthly sufferings are at an end; "May his sins be forgiven him, and his soul be at "rest!" the chamberlain and physician each, in an audible and solemn manner, said, "Amen! Amen!" Such were the last moments of this celebrated monarch, who certainly was as brave as the greatest of his predecessors, and, beyond comparison, the most accomplished king who had ever sat upon the Swedish throne.

The duke of Sodermanland, and the great officers of state were in attendance, to whom the chamberlain Benzlestjerna announced the death of the king; and before his corse was cold, the artillery on the forts, and the heralds by sound of trumpet, proclaimed the new sovereign as King of the Swedes, the Goths, and the Vandals, by the name and style of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus!

Thus was the last wish of Gustavus the Third fulfilled,—a monarch who possessed from nature and education so many fine qualities, that his reign would have been the happiest on record, if he had been as just as he was polished and magnificent; and his memory would have been revered in Sweden; and his character admired by all Europe, if in his early days his morals had not been contaminated by associating with a circle of profligate young courtiers, whose polluted habits banished all sense of rectitude from his mind, and planted in its stead the worst of vices that degrade mankind. To the effects of his corrupt and pro-

fligate associates, but principally to the contagious infamy of *Armfelt*, the depravity of this monarch ought to be attributed. By them his mind was demoralized, and thence flowed that horrible taint which is too well established to admit a shadow of doubt as to its truth; which accompanied him in life, and pursues his memory even beyond the grave.

As soon as Gustavus the Third was dead, and his *adopted* son proclaimed king, the duke of Sodermanland assumed the reins of government, as sole regent of Sweden.* One of his first acts of power was to bring to condign punishment the assassin of his brother;† who was kept confined in

* When the revolution of 1809 was announced to Napoleon, he said to the Swedish minister, "I rejoice at this event the more sincerely because it will put an end to the calamities of Sweden; and happy had it been for that nation, if the present wise and gallant monarch had ascended the throne when his brother died." Bonaparte used the same expressions in his exposé. Napoleon certainly knew that, according to hereditary succession, the crown belonged to the Duke Charles; and he probably alluded to the illegitimacy of the dethroned monarch.

† It was generally reported in Sweden, about this period, that the regent was as much concerned in the conspiracy against his brother as Ankarstrom himself. This report originated in the machinations of General Baron Armfelt and his partisans. The writer of this work, during almost a year's residence in Sweden, never found any well-informed person of that opinion: if the Duke were wicked enough to act thus, what could have hindered his wearing the crown? Mr. Lewis Goldsmith has asserted his guilt in the most unqualified terms, but he was, perhaps, misled by the reports circulated by that execrable traitor, Baron Armfelt.

a prison called the Smedjesgaard,* (the Newgate of Stockholm), situated in a street leading to the south west, from the Drottning Gatan to Roerstrands Sjon. The edifice appeared neither as large

* On the 9th July, 1808, accompanied by Sir Bengt Geyer of Roestrand, the author visited this prison. Owing to the presence of his friend, the principal keeper attended to shew the whole edifice. The *felon's room* was rather small; on each side was a kind of *guard-house bed*, that is, composed of *bare planks*. On this some of the prisoners lay stretched; others were walking up and down; and out of *thirty* or *forty* inclosed in this one room, only *one* was *ironed*. He had a bar about an inch square and three feet long, fixed to one ancle. To sustain it when he moved, a string was tied to the extremity, by which he lifted it up as he stepped along. This was put on his leg on account of ill behaviour in the prison. The prisoners, in general, were under forty years of age; sallow, unhealthy, diseased;—one miserable wretch, worn to the bone, lay on the floor, upon some sacks; Mr. B. asked what ailed him? They said, "*He is dying!*" A sight more afflicting could scarcely be conceived, and he hastened from it. He visited the rooms above that occupied by the felons: they were not uncomfortable, and admitted a fine prospect over the Clara lake, towards Sodermalm, and some part of Stockholm. The doors were fastened by *massive bolts* outside.—Sometimes one, in others two prisoners were found. They appeared to be decent, respectable looking men; books and papers lay spread on their tables; they had bedding. Mr. B. asked of what crime they had been guilty,—to his surprise he was told they were—*debtors!*

Ashamed of the intrusion, he apologized and withdrew. A room arched like the felons, but twice as large, was appropriated to the *women*: there were but two;—one was busied knitting; the other lay on a small mattress, wrapped round with a rug, upon a wooden frame, which ran along the room, as indeed was the case in all the rooms he saw. This poor wretch was very ill. He saw the chapel.

nor strong as Warburton's madhouse at Hoxton; and the prisoners are never put in irons till after conviction; nor even then, unless it forms a part of their sentence; for the law actually considers every person accused to be innocent until the contrary is proved. And in Sweden, a man that has

And never was any place more gloomy dedicated to such a purpose. Yet the few *ornaments*, were if possible, *more* tawdry, than the room was miserable. He enquired for the room where *Ankarstrom* the regicide had been confined, and was conducted thither. It is on the ground floor, on the right hand side of the entrance. It was tenanted by a number of young countrymen, innocent in appearance, but sickly. He was told upon enquiry, these were supplementary recruits, placed there for recovery of their health, the hospitals being full of wounded men brought from Fin'and.

The prisoners in general appeared to suffer want; and the internal arrangement of the prison to be such as to require a thorough reformation..

His friend's residence at *Roestrand* was once a royal palace. Including his porcelain manufactory and magazines, it was as large as a small town. Except from *Mosa Bäcke* there is no where so fine a view of Stockholm, as from the principal story of this large house. He requested Sir Bengt to go towards his home, round the shores of the Maler, and he consented. They set off, and lost their way. They hailed a boat; the rower took them on board; it was little better than a sieve. They brought the crazy boat so low in the water, that it nearly filled; and they narrowly escaped being drowned. Indeed, the day on which they visited the *Newgate* of Sweden, was a day of disasters. Mr. B. was engaged to dine with Sir Bengt Geyer and his lady, to settle about their intended journey into *Wermerland*. He took Mr. B. up in his chariot, and before they were half way, the spring broke; his friend was then compelled to do what Mr. B. had in vain requested, i. e. to walk home. This accident led to their visit at the *Smedje Gaard*, and the aquatic excursion which had like to have cost them their lives.

been shackled with fetters or manacles, is considered ever after as degraded and infamous. Ankarstrom was guarded by sentinels, and spent much of his time in reading religious books, in prayer, and in the contemplation of a future existence, which seemed to employ his thoughts much more than the terrible punishment which he knew awaited him. When he was told of the dreadful agonies in which the king lay, he said in a mild tone of voice, "I am very sorry indeed to hear this: my intention was to kill the tyrant, not to torture him. He cannot recover; and I shall die amidst studied torments; but the consciousness of having put an end to his wicked career, and saved the lives of many thousands, and rescued my native country from slavery, will enable me to support them."—There was a solemnity and gentleness in his manner that operated powerfully on those who attended him. He did not seem to regard the narrow limits of his prison, nor the ignominious death that impended, but looked forward to another and a better world, "*there*," borrowing the words of scripture, he observed, "*the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest.*"—Such was the dignity of his conduct, that he appeared rather as a martyr suffering for the sake of his faith, than a frail mortal who had embrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-creature.

When the report of cannon reached his ears, he knew his victim had breathed his last, and that a new

king was proclaimed: Ankarstrom instantly fell on his knees, and leaning his head, exclaimed, "Thank God! his torments are at last ended; and may his Creator save his soul, and forgive his manifold offences! I can now die at peace." Such was the singular union of crime and virtue, of fanaticism and religion, that met in his mind, and which continued to operate to the last hour of his existence. Nor was he kept long in suspense as to his doom. On the 18th of April, 1792, the sentence of death was pronounced, to be accompanied by torture protracted during three days! He heard it unmoved; and passed the few remaining hours in solemn prayer. The next morning he was conducted to the Riddarhus Torg, where a scaffold had been erected near to the equestrian statue of the great founder of the Gustavian line, and opposite to the palace of the equestrian order. A gallows was erected on the scaffold, on the top of which, above the head of the culprit, the pistol and notched knife were exhibited with a board inscribed, "Johan Jacob Ankarstrom,— Kongungs mordnar," i. e. *the murderer of the king*. From the gallows a massive chain of iron depended; which, by means of a thick hoop or collar of the same metal, was fastened round his neck. His head was bare; but he was allowed to wear a wolf-skin pelisse. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and undaunted, yet unassuming, air. The ring was affixed round his neck; and he stood, thus exposed, during two hours; which, in

a climate as cold as that of Stockholm, was in itself no slight punishment. He was then stripped and scourged. He bore his punishment without betraying any sense of pain, and was conducted back to his prison, where he prayed for power to endure the tortures that yet remained; and for forgiveness of his own sins, and those of his enemies. The next day he was taken to the Torg, or market place, on Sodermalm, where the same treatment was repeated. He strove in vain to maintain an equal degree of composure;—but he was chilled and weakened so greatly, that the lash, laid on the parts lacerated the day before, wrung from him a few deep hollow groans, which were, scarcely audible a few yards from the scaffold. When he was carried back the second day, he fell on the floor from excess of pain and weakness. The physician had given orders that he should have nourishing things administered, with the *charitable* view to prevent the wretched man escaping, by the kinder hand of death, the torments he was doomed to suffer; and, although Ankarstrom was perfectly aware of the horrible source of their solicitude, he suffered them to act by him as they pleased, telling them, that Christ, through whose death he hoped for eternal life, had suffered a sentence still more terrible. The third day he could scarcely stand, and his altered looks demonstrated how extreme had been his sufferings. He was dragged forth, and exhibited in the same manner on the Stora Torget, opposite

the opera house, where he had committed the offence for which he was so dreadfully punished, and in full view of the king's palace. Here his bruised and lacerated back was again exposed to the scourge, inflicted with peculiar ferocity; he was then released from the whipping post, stretched on the block, his right hand first cut off, and next his head, which was instantly seized by the executioner, held up by its locks, and, whilst the blood flowed from the severed arteries and veins, it was held forth to view, as the head of a traitor and a regicide. Thus terminated as cruel a series of useless tortures as ever were inflicted. The mangled body, disembowelled and quartered, was then conveyed through the city, and the suburb called Sodermalm, to the usual place of execution,* to be devoured by the fowls of the air; where the limbs were exposed on wheels, and the head placed on a pole in the center, the right hand was nailed below the head.†

* The gallows belonging to the courts of criminal law in Stockholm, is a permanent edifice, consisting of three pillars, forming a triangle, and connected at the top by massive iron bars, to which the culprits are suspended. This structure is surrounded by a wall. The situation, amongst rocks and forest trees, is very gloomy. There are several cottages built not far from the gallows. An aged woman, who inhabited one of those huts, told the author in 1808, that she well remembered the body of Ankarstrom being there exhibited; and that she saw his ghost pacing round the walls many a time afterwards!

† The morning after the beheading of Ankarstrom, the walls of the edifices in Stockholm were inscribed with sentences, applaud

In judging of the crime for which this nobleman deservedly suffered death, both the provocations he had received, and the motives which appear to have actuated him, ought to have due weight. There is just reason to believe in the truth of the horrid outrage said to have been offered to Ankarstrom, when a youth, by his future sovereign; and also in the injustice and oppression of which he complained so indignantly, when condemned by the court-martial assembled at Frederikshof. These considerations appear to have impressed Ankarstrom with an opinion, that he should be performing an act of public justice in taking his life. That he considered the king as being not only unfit to reign, but even to live, there is superabundant evidence to prove; and also, that he felt he was committing a heinous crime, by taking on himself the power of inflicting the death that he had adjudged the king ought to suffer: and he certainly employed the time he lived in the most animated appeals to his creator for pardon, and apparently he died with the conviction that he had obtained it.* If those circumstances

ing the crime for which he died; and a large paper was seen, affixed above the hand, on which was written, in very legible characters:

"*Blessed be the hand*
That saved his fatherland."

* The opinion entertained by Ankarstrom, that he could expiate the crime by subsequent penitence and prayer, was neither new nor local. In this country, how common is the expression, that

cannot justify, they must be allowed to be powerful palliatives; but still there is something so revolting from manhood and manly honor in the act of assassination, that it steels the heart, and properly too, against pity, let the sufferings of the assassin be ever so dreadful, or however great his previous wrongs. The character of him who fell is blanched, as it were, and redeemed by the more odious criminality of assassination. Ankarstrom experienced the truth of these observations in all their bitterness; for although it is possible, and even probable, that he was more forcibly impelled by public than by private feelings, he saw greater horror and detestation expressed in the countenance of the crowd, than

the gallows saves many a soul! meaning, that the certainty of death, and the awful reflections to which it gives rise, aided by the consolations of religion, and the pious prayers and admonitions of the clergy, are competent atonements for crime, and secure passports to eternal happiness. The same opinion prevails amongst the illiterate in Sweden; and before the punishment of death for robbery was abolished, many instances occurred of *honest and reputable persons* committing thefts with a view to suffer death, to secure eternal salvation, by penitence, prayer, and the assistance of the clergy. In Denmark, this strange mode of saving souls became so prevalent, that, about 1765, or 1766, a woman murdered her infant child from that principle: to counteract which, Christian the Seventh ordained that death, in those cases, should no longer be inflicted, but the offenders be scourged, branded in the forehead, confined for life, and kept to hard labour; and, for the further prevention of infanticide, he ordered that the guilty should be flogged, burnt, and confined for life to hard labor; and, on each anniversary of the day when the crime was committed, to be severely scourged.

commiseration; and the groans and hisses that occasionally assailed his ears, are said to have grieved and hurt him more than the chain and collar of iron round his neck, or even the lash of the common hangman.

The real sentiments of Gustavus the Third respecting revealed religion, are easily gathered from the facility and levity with which he made and violated the most solemn engagements. He had about the same reverence towards those inferior actors who personated the druid priests, in his theatrical processions, as for the archbishop of Upsala, or the Rector Magnificus of Stockholm. His gross hypocrisy and boundless perfidy, demonstrated that he valued the sacred name, so frequently invoked, on account of the means afforded to make dupes of his subjects, and fix the stamp of sincerity on his spurious oaths. He was so indiscreet as to think that mankind would never cease to believe, as long as he wished to deceive; and he lived to experience the bitter fruits of his past deceptions to such a degree, that the more solemn were his asservations of sincerity, the less was the credit he obtained: and not a usurer would lend him a crown, unless he produced some of his courtiers, who were rich, to guarantee the payment. Although this gay and magnificent monarch was, in his heart, a mocker of religion, it was generally reported and believed in Stockholm, that he was extremely

superstitious, and carried his weakness so far as to visit an old woman, called Mademoiselle Arvedsen, who, about the year 1792, was in high repute as a fortune-teller! So great was the fame of the sibyl, and so eager the curiosity of the good people of Stockholm to obtain a glimpse of futurity, that her abode was crowded with visitors, to check whose numbers, the sagacious sibyl required a golden offering that none but rich fools could bring. This check not being sufficient to reduce the number within due bounds, she was obliged to issue tickets, on which it was specified what time the votary might appear, and how long continue in her awful presence! Another singularity which attended this lady was, that her power of prophecy was perfectly *local*. She was once sent for by the queen, Sophia Magdalena; to whom she replied, that the dream her Majesty had had the night before would certainly come true; but her power to foretel events, or interpret dreams, was confined to her own dwelling, as the celestial spirit by which she was inspired quitted her when she went abroad!—The queen was amazed and terrified at the message; never once reflecting that those who paid persons to bring them news, were sure to have their own secrets made public; and she actually went out incog. and after telling Mademoiselle Arvedsen all her secrets, she returned impressed with the most awful ideas of her

supernatural powers.* The fact was, that the cunning jade knew the queen was parsimonious, and she *foresaw* very plainly she should be kept twattling with her and her inquisitives all day, and not receive a fifth part of the fees that would be given to her at home. Besides, she calculated that the same weakness of intellect that led the queen to *send,* would impel her to come to her altar, and then she concluded, in one or two years she should acquire sufficient riches to live at her ease the remainder of her life. Her calculations being founded upon practical knowledge of human weakness and folly, they were fully verified; and her house was visited not alone by the queen, but all the principal ladies of her court: circumstances which Mademoiselle Arvedsen took care to circulate in whispers to all the wealthy wives, widows, and maidens in Stockholm; and to preserve herself from being devoured by eager votaries, she was compelled to raise her fee to a golden ducat! Thus riches and honors rolled in a full tide upon her humble dwelling; and she was enabled to render justice *deaf* as well as blind. The revenue thus poured in, was not all clear gain, for she had many secret agents by whom she was supplied with *family secrets,* which, when opportunities occurred, she dealt forth to the persons whom those secrets concerned; by which means her fame arose to a

* Frau— G—ll—g, one of the queen's bedchamber women, had just been and told the sibyl, that her majesty had dreamt, that the king was assassinated—and was greatly troubled at the dream.

height scarcely exceeded by any predecessor, whether ancient or modern. Gustavus was not long before he heard of her matchless prescience; and went *incognito* to her retreat. At the door stood the high priestess, who, in a slow and gentle cadence, bade him welcome as her king! for he had carelessly mentioned his intention to some of his young courtiers, from whom she derived, though by indirect means, the intelligence that had enabled her thus to receive him. The king remained some time closeted with the sibyl, and he repeated his visits, but, as he never disclosed his intention before he went, the old lady never had an opportunity of greeting the royal visitor as before. The author was assured by persons of sound judgment and strict veracity, that the king really did visit this woman; and they as gravely affirmed it was from her lips, not long before his death, he was forewarned against Count Ribbing. They were not so weak as to believe the king went to consult her as a prophetess, but merely to derive from her lips every material fact she might have gleaned from her numerous followers, explanatory of the designs of his enemies towards his person and government. He might also feel some anxiety to learn the sentiments regarding himself and the crown prince, entertained by the queen. Such was, in all probability, the *motive* that led this erratic prince to Mademoiselle Arvedson; but the public voice gave a very different version, and insisted that he went thither fraught with a

belief in her possessing supernatural powers. The author was informed, with the utmost gravity, by persons of rank and fortune, that Gustavus went to consult her previous to his journey to Gefle, to enquire if he should live to return? Which question she answered in the affirmative. And, that just after the king's return to Stockholm, his majesty went to her dwelling, in consequence of some very frightful dreams that had disturbed his rest. Madame Arvedsen then received him with a countenance overcast with sorrow, and told him she could not foresee distinctly, as her mental horizon was much clouded. She listened in gloomy silence to his narration of the horrid visions that had troubled him, and told him she feared some fatal accident was near at hand. "I believe so, myself," said Gustavus, "and that I shall die by the hand of some assassin; but tell me," he is reported to have said, "shall I live to fulfil the designs that now occupy my thoughts?" The sibyl mournfully shook her head, and told him, her powers were circumscribed. "Can you tell me who will be my murderer?" "*That*, I cannot foretell, Sire," said the prophetess, "but as your majesty returns to your apartment you will run against a man wrapped up in a cloak, carrying a drawn sword under his left arm: he will not molest you now, but at a future day become one of your destroyers. As the king returned, he took a circuitous route to the palace by way of Norrlands-gatan; and, as well as the darkness of the

night permitted, avoided every person whom he saw. He had reached the palace, and was smiling at his own credulity, when, ascending by a private stairs to an anti-room, of which he kept the key, he heard a step, and suddenly some one ran against him. The personal courage of the king was ever conspicuous; and seizing the unknown, he plainly felt a sword, covered by the cloak, and held under the left arm. "Who are you?" said the king fiercely. "Answer, or I'll call the guard!" holding the person so fast, he could not, if he had endeavoured, disengage his arms. "Don't your majesty know me," said the captive, on hearing the well-known voice of the king: "*I am Count Ribbing.*" "And what business have you here, with a drawn sword under your cloak, and in the dark, on my privy stairs?" "I come to meet a girl, Sire, belonging to these apartments, and I always carry my sword thus on such nocturnal adventures." The king took him into a room adjoining, on the Mezzonine story; where, looking Count Ribbing full in the face, he said, "My dear Ribbing! is it possible you came here with a view to murder me?"—The count appeared much hurt at his majesty's suspicions, and asking the king in a manner half sorrowfully, half reproachfully, what had put such thoughts into his mind, made a low bow, and withdrew.

The king is said to have paid one visit more to the witch of Norrmalm, and to have concealed what had occurred relative to Count Ribbing;

and that the manner of the sibyl was, if possible, more gloomy than before. The king said, he meant to take a long journey, and asked her if any thing fatal would befal him. "I cannot see so far forward, Sire," said the supposed witch, "but, between the 15th and the 18th of this month (March, 1792), Norrmalms Torget* will be covered by a black cloud."† Such were the marvellous stories relative to the visits paid to Mademoiselle Arvedson, the celebrated fortune-teller of Stockholm, which were related to the author; and nearly in the same terms, by different persons of respectability. If the reader should deem the tale too absurd to have obtained belief, let him refer, for parallel absurdities at home, to the well authenticated narratives of the *bottle conjuror, the Cock-lane ghost*, and more recently, the prophecies of *Johanna Southcote.*

* Since the erecting of the magnificent equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus the Great, Norrmalms Torget has been called Gustaf Adolf's Torget. Sir John Carr, Sir Robert Porter, &c. have so disfigured the names of places in Stockholm, in their respective works, that as local guides to a stranger, they are useless. Dr. Thomson, in his Travels in Sweden, has avoided this ridiculous affectation; but, by substituting o for a in the names of places, such as Åland, Åbo, &c. he has been guilty of an error no less mischievous.

† This story of the witch of Norrmalm, has been published by the Marquis de Bouillé though differently; he was the intimate friend of the king, and the depository of his secrets; and he did not hesitate in his memoirs to assert that Count Ribbing was discovered by the king, from his majesty having gone to a woman named Arvedsen, who was celebrated as a fortune-teller.

CHAP. IV.

Character of Gustavus the Third, as a patron of the fine Arts.—Remarks on the erroneous account given of Sweden.—The plagiarisms of Acerbi detected; his ludicrous errors exposed.—Biographical sketch of Sergell, the great Swedish sculptor.—The principal errors of Sir John Carr's Northern Summer corrected.—Anecdote of Gustavus the Fourth.—Character of Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Sweden.—Illiberality and injustice of J. T. James, Esq's. criticism on the taste of Gustavus the Third, as to architecture.—The errors of Dr. Thomson's Travels in Sweden corrected.—Sergell's last great work described.—Anecdote of Sergell and Bernadotte, now Charles the Fourteenth John.—Catalogue of Sergell's principal works.—An anatomical error in the Venus de Medici discovered by Sergell.—Swedish Painters and Architects patronised by Gustavus the Third, Desprez, Piper, Tempelman, Roslin, Sir C. F. Von Breda, a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds.—Comparative state of painting and sculpture in Sweden and England.—Comparative state of engraving.—Anecdotes of Gustavus the Third.

IF the maxim *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* had been adopted by ancient historians, the crimes of

the most execrable of tyrants had been concealed, the memory of their crimes had died with the criminals, the greatest stimulant to virtue had been annihilated, as well as the most formidable scourge of vice.

The varied and splendid accomplishments that distinguished Gustavus the Third beyond all contemporaneous monarchs, operated powerfully in his favor, even with him whose pen has so freely condemned his conduct as a sovereign and a gentleman; yet, would it not have been practising an unpardonable deception, if, being sensible that he had nearly ruined his kingdom by his want of wisdom, and tainted his character by the almost open exercise of odious propensities, the author had passed over those material features of his character, and shown the fair side only?

The life and reign of this monarch, as these pages have disclosed, abound with incidents by which they are deformed. If one could forget the deep hypocrisy by which he effected the overthrow of the oligarchs, and the certainty that he *intended* to establish monarchical despotism on its ruins, his memory might have been cherished by the friends of freedom; and if the unfeeling rapacity with which, even by the most ruinous of monopolies,* he accumulated wealth to bestow it upon the drama and the votaries of

* That of brandy; according to Mr. James, vol. i. p. , the distillers infused mineral, or other poison, in the noxious stuff sold to the populace.

the fine arts, could be justified, it would be from the consideration that he drew many a sublime genius from obscurity, that had otherwise faded away unnoticed and died unknown; whereby he adorned his court, adding the softened lustre of the fine arts to the imperishable glory conferred on Sweden by a race of kings and heroes whose fame reached the most distant quarters of the earth; but was too dearly purchased, not so much by the blood that was shed in its accumulation, as by the deep inroads made by victorious warrior-kings on the liberty of the Swedes.

As the author proceeds with brief biographical sketches of the principal sculptors and painters in Sweden, who were patronised by Gustavus the Third, with a view to afford his readers a kind of standard whereby to judge of the accuracy of the different authors who have treated of the northern nations, and particularly Sweden, he gives a rapid but correct survey of the principal errors that disfigure their respective works. The best account of the court of Sweden, under Gustavus the Third, is that* so often quoted in these vo-

* "*Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden.*"—It is amusing enough to read in many costly tours that have since been published relative to Sweden, under Gustavus the Third, the copious draughts made on this work, and palmed on the British public as being original. Messrs. Acerbi, Carr, and Porter have all borrowed from that source without acknowledging their obligation to the original author. As to Mr. Joseph Acerbi he pillaged without remorse, and spread, as if for sport,

lumes, and pillaged by others, whose volumes will be reviewed. Such matter can scarcely be deemed anomalous in a work that treats wholly of the northern courts; and he trusts there are many of his readers, who, wishing to acquire an accurate knowlege of a brave and eminent people,

the most cruel calumnies respecting the distinguished families under whose roofs he had been conducted by Colonel, now General Skjoldebrand, and most kindly and honourably treated. He pilfered more than a hundred pages from the above work. The first volume is made up of plagiarisms, of *original* falsehoods and sheer nonsense. Nor did Mr. Acerbi content himself with this sort of pillage, for he actually *purloined* some of the beautiful and spirited drawings made by Colonel Skjoldebrand, during their journey together, which he afterwards *sold* to Napoleon Bonaparte at a very high price; others he employed Mr. Bellanger of Stockholm to copy, which copies constitute those views that appear in his volumes. In vol. I. p. 121, 123, 124, this *candid* tourist ridicules the pretension of Messrs. Hjelm, Paykul, and Thunberg, whom he condemned as *fools*, *dunces*, and plagiarists! and these same men, vol. II. p. 137, 227, 229, 243, 259, 265, 267, 318, &c. &c. &c. he praises for the possession of the greatest science, wisdom, and taste, and tells his readers how kindly he was treated by them, and *admitted to take specimens from their cabinets* to enrich his work! In all probability Mr. Acerbi *took* them to *enrich* his *private* collection, made without toil or expense! A Baron de Geda had the misfortune to be blind; he was venerable from his age: the unfeeling scribbler mocks and makes game of this affecting instance of human infirmity; and, as these volumes are dedicated to his father, it seems as if he conceived *that father* could derive pleasure and *amusement* from such cruel slanders (vol. I. p. 125.)—A language master in Stockholm translated nearly one hundred pages from Tunelot's Geography;

will approve of this digression. Next to Whitelocke's journal, the best work extant is the Rev. Mr. Coxe's, the few errors to be found in which have been already noticed; a review of all the others, namely, Acerbi's, Sir John Carr's, Sir Robert Ker Porter's, and Mr. J. T. James's Journal, may be both useful and agreeable.

but not understanding the difference between a *tunn* Swedish and a *ton* English, he multiplied by *twenty* the weight of butter, dried salmon, and other provisions; and in some cases, one hundred fold. All his criticisms on the academies of Sweden, and the Swedish drama, are stolen from Restel, or other works. This *impartial critic*, in vol. I. p. 60, ridicules and condemns the voice, style, and execution of Madame Müller, and condemns her for presumption and folly in appearing on the stage; and in the following pages Mr. Acerbi describes Madame *Walters*, a Danish woman, as the sweetest and melodious of singers! He was ignorant that she that was once Madame Walters, and afterwards by marriage became Mrs. Müller! The malice he displays, and the ludicrous blunders made by Mr. Joseph Ascerbi in his account of the *Savans* of Sweden, have been most ably exposed by Colonel Skjoldebrand, whose rare fortune it was to use with equal credit the pen, the pencil, and the sword. The *learned and tasteful tourist*, vol. I. p. 11. speaks of a palace as a perfect ruin, that was in complete repair and splendidly furnished. And in another part he speaks of the great palace of Haga as being finished, the foundations of which were never carried above the level of the earth; and which had been totally abandoned since the death of Gustavus the Third. His sarcasms levelled at Mr. Malmgren, vol. I. p. 33, &c. are peculiarly malignant, and they were altogether undeserved. At Drottningholm, he mistook four pavilions for *twelve;* and described the graceful and elegant Gustavus the Third as *amusing* himself by the labours of a common blacksmith! The sagacious traveller

Returning to the Swedish artists, reared or patronised by Gustavus the Third, the author proceeds to remark, that this monarch never met with a single instance of deep ingratitude from any one who had been indebted to his munificence. They loved him living, and when laid

shortens the northern summer, already so very short, by stating, vol. I. p. 57, that the thaw commences in *June* and the *rain* set in, in September! The amusing anecdote, illustrative of the addiction of the Swedes to gaming, he *borrowed* from Mr. Ristel's anonymous work. His marvellous tales about the credulity of the Duke of Sodermanland (Charles the Thirteenth) were either inventions or gross exaggerations, His account of the first minister, Count SPARRE, vol. I. p. 91 and 92, is at once ludicrous and false. The modest Italian tells his English readers that the Count was so fully impressed with a belief, that like Elijah, he should be carried away to heaven *alive*, that he never went out in his carriage without taking a formal farewel of his family! But what must the legion of placemen and pensioners in this country think, whose illustrious names adorn and swell the pages of the Red Book, of his assertion, that "at the University of ABO the BODIES of state pensioners are *given up to the surgeons for* DISSECTION!!! vol. I. p. 206. Nor does the faithful narrator even say that they are permitted to live as long as they could! If he could have read Swedish, or had understood the tongue, he would have found that in one of the hospitals existed an order by which the bodies of those who died of certain incurable and disreputable diseases, should be dissected by the surgeons for the benefit of the living. Such are a few of the leading *merits* of Mr. Acerbi, who *modestly* assured his readers in his preface, that "*another motive* for *publishing this work was a desire of being useful to future* TRAVELLERS!!!"

Sir John Carr's NORTHERN SUMMER followed the *valuable* volumes just quitted; and most woefully would the traveller

low by an assassin's hand, he could no longer confer honors nor riches, his memory has been cherished, and his character defended, with a zeal that did honour to the goodness of their hearts. The author, in 1808, had many opportunities of witnessing these truths. Those veteran artists,

be deceived, if he hoped to derive more useful information from these pages, than those preceding his labours. It is, however, just to state that Sir John Carr's publication is free from the dark and wanton malignancy so prevalent in the pages of Acerbi. Sir John's errors, were seated in his *head*. Passing by the numerous mistakes which abound in his account of men and things that occurred on his journey between Harwich and Helsingborg in Sweden; he tells his readers, p. 104, that, for the sake of procuring *better horses* on their journey to Stockholm, they (Sir John and a friend) passed themselves off as state messengers; and after they had reached the metropolis, he states, "*our impatience* cost our pride nothing less than figuring away a *few days after* in the Stockholm Gazette as a couple of couriers *just arrived*." By this it appears that the *observant* travellers thought only of expedition; and the man of the law was happily ignorant of the risk he ran of being detected, and punished as an impostor; for, on the main roads, and this was one, a certain number of *reserve horses* are held at each station for the use of state messengers: and by the sixteenth clause in the Royal Ordinance of the 12th December, 1734, it is enacted that any traveller who shows a false pass, or by any pretext obtains *fri skjuts*, or obtains the '*krone skjuts*' *i. e.* horses. reserved for the crown, shall be fined one hundred dollars silver-mint; be arrested, and held to bail, or committed to prison to abide the further punishment awarded to this offence, namely, a public flogging and imprisonment. In which predicament Sir John Carr then stood. If he were ignorant of this law, *good morals* forbade the deception. And as

Professors Piper and Tempelman, spoke of their deceased patron with reverence and affection, at a time when almost every tongue reviled him; whilst many a courtier whom Gustavus the Third had ennobled and enriched, could recollect nothing of their benefactor except his follies and

to his '*pride*' being hurt by its result, perhaps he might have found amongst the British messengers, *some* who would have felt hurt likewise, although from a *very different* cause! The account given, p. 19, of the value of the Swedish coins is inaccurate in almost every denomination of current coin or paper. 'A *conspiracy*', p. 24, formed against this traveller, at a *very clean inn*, is thus defined. "The dashing of a fountain, the crowing of a Bantam cock, two cats *making love*, and a party of *foraging fleas* united *their powers* to keep me from *sleep*!" His *engagement* with a Forbud, described p. 106, shewed his complete ignorance of the regular, cheap, and secure way of procuring horses at every post at any time; and his lamentations at the loss of a bit of roasted mutton, gnawed by '*some vile dog*,' and reduced to 'an *indented* wreck,' shew more anger than discretion. Sir John's account of his '*expeditious travelling*' is either false or true: Messrs. Schawe, Johnson, Hunter, and other messengers totally discredited his assertions, where he states that he "accomplished *several stages* at the rate of *thirteen* or *fourteen* miles per hour!" Not one of those messengers ever travelled so rapidly in Sweden; and the author of these volumes, never heard of any person who had. The probability, therefore is, that in this part Sir John indulged in the *traveller's privilege:* but if it could be believed, the fact would indicate the most cold and deliberate cruelty, for, encumbered as he was with a waggon and *five* persons, the excessive exertion must *inevitably* have broken the hearts of the generous little animals, which he describes as reminding him of "CINDERELLA'S MICE."

His orthography is as defective as his veracity and humanity

his crimes. Gustavus the Third and Fourth lavished upon that worthless minion, Baron Armfelt, more treasure than upon all the sculptors and painters of Sweden; and that worthless courtier was highly instrumental in leading to the death of the former, and the dethronement of the latter;

are questionable. The post-house or station called Astrop, should be *Åstorp;* Lynngby—*Ö-Ljungby:* Orke-Ginga, *Örkeljunga.*

"We dined at Johnkopping, or, as the Swedes call it Johnchippig," p. 112. The place meant by our tourist was the city of Jönköping, and the Swedes pronounce its name, not John-chip-pig, but Yen-tsheping, p. 112. "There, and every where else, in Sweden, we found that the bread and cheese had in *them* an immense number of carraway seeds, by which they were not improved," idem. These assertions *may* be quite original, but they are positively founded on the most complete ignorance and misconception. The lake that he calls THE WELLER, is *the Wettern.*—Nordkoping, p. 113, should be spelt *Norrköping.* When he arrived at Fitja, and just as Sir John was composing some lines in praise of the honesty of '*his forbud*' he discovered that he had been robbed, and thus the world lost those beautiful lines which the enraged and disappointed poet had produced. This act of dishonesty, in technical terms, he calls '*felonious treachery,*' p. 119. So much for the example set by Sir John Carr, as a guide to *future travellers!*

Having thus reached the metropolis of Sweden; Sir John, p. 119, asserts, "after breakfast we ascended *Mount Moses.*" There is no such *mountain* in Sweden; the place he meant is an eminence on Sodermalm, called Möse Bäcka, where he saw "the lake Mælar and the *streams* that flow *from* it." A hundred tributary streams pour their waters into this vast lake, which has only a single outlet.

Treating of the colossal statue in bronze, erected in honor of Gustavus the Third, he says, "the pedestal of one *solid* block of porphyry is already raised," &c. Here again our traveller was

and as if to crown the triumph of treason, the traitor was appointed by the Emperor Alexander, governor of the province of Swedish Finland after its conquest in 1809.

The greatest name amongst those artists patronised by Gustavus the Third, a name that

deceived; the pedestal is formed of *many* pieces, but so highly polished and exquisitely joined, it is difficult to perceive that the whole is not what Sir John described. His account of the *Merclants' Club*, p. 125, is radically erroneous.

What Sir John Carr meant by the "pretty little *cozing or chit-chat* rooms," p, 127, in the Great Palace, is not in the writer's power to explain.

In the king's library Sir John saw two enormous latin MSS. "the *vellum* leaves of which he possitively asserts are made of "*asses skin.*" Is there no difference between the skin of a *calf* and that of an *ass?*

"The king" (Gustavus the Fourth) "is said to regard the memory of his father with *enthusiastic adoration.* I contemplated a powerful proof of it *in* an obelisk of one SOLID BLOCK OF PORPHYRY FORTY FEET HIGH, which is at once a monument of his taste and *piety.*" p. 130.

Sir John has made nearly as many blunders as he used words in this sentence.

In the first place the obelisk is *not* composed of ONE SOLID BLOCK, but of *many* blocks; and the *joints* might be seen a couple of hundred yards distant without the aid of glasses.

It is NOT built of *porphyry* but simply of grey *granite.*

It is certainly *much more* than *forty feet* high: but perhaps Sir John wisely recollected that if he had stated its true elevation, the assertion that it is composed of a *single block of porphyry* would have appeared too bare-faced.

This obelisk, which is one of the finest in the world, was erected by order of Gustavus the Fourth, to the memory of Gustavus the Third. The former, standing at its base, once addressed the

reflects more honor upon Gustavus the Third, than all his *victories*, is JOHAN TOBIAS SERGELL. The exquisite taste and matchless ability of this great northern sculptor, justifies the assertion that he was equal to any modern artist; and excelled in giving character and *sentiment** to his

burgers of Stockholm; when some impudent plebeian cried out '*There's the rogue! the iron chain and ring are wanting!*'—alluding to the mode in which swindlers are exposed.

Treating of Gustaf Adolf's Torget, Sir John Carr calls in '*La Place du Nord*,'—an affectation of gallicising proper and local names, that is as ridiculous in a traveller as it is mischievous. No stranger could find his way in Stockholm by the aid of such a guide.

"Upon our rising" (after dinner) "at the same time," (with the hostess) "we stood *solemnly gazing upon each other for about half a minute*, we then exchanged *profound* bows and curtsies." p. 138. Sir John might *gaze* at the company, but not the company at him; for this is the silent and solemn manner in which grace is said in Sweden. A circumstance of which it was singular so *inquisitive* a traveller should have been ignorant.

Dalcarlia and Dalcarlians, p. 140, &c. Every fact and circumstance

* "Amongst the Swedish sculptors, the name of Sergell *(il Michel Ange du Nord)* has long been *justly* celebrated: his workshop abounds with models of *beauty* and *grace*, executed with a *spirit* of taste and fidelity that deserves the highest encomium. The Cupid and Psyche, Mars and Venus, are to be ranked amongst the most elegant examples of the *beau ideal*, but this is a lofty walk of art, and I must confess they appeared to me *to lack something of the promethean fire.*" James's Journal, vol. I. p. 214.

The commencement of this precious morsel of *profound criticism* is tolerable civil, but, short as it is, before Mr. James arrived at the end, he seems to have regretted the praise he had bestowed at the beginning! There is clearly a '*lack something*' of generous feeling in cold blooded hypercritics.

figures, in which great quality he exceeded any thing CANOVA has since executed; whilst in design and execution Sergell has not been excelled by this celebrated Italian artist.

The author, whilst in Sweden, always understood, that Sergell was the son of a *Swedish farmer:*

stated, connected with these subjects, are founded in error or misconception; and some of them perfectly ludicrous from their absurdity. His account of a Dalcarl hut, p. 142, is copied almost literally from Radcliffe's translation, p. 190, already named.

He states that Drottningholm is ten miles from Stockholm; it is not quite *seven.*

His account of Queen Christina, p. 144, is contrary to history; and written in a malignant spirit. If he had read Whitelock's Journal of his Swedish Embassy, he would have found a very different character of that queen.

Speaking of the arsenal at Stockholm, Sir John Carr sagaciously observed, "I was particularly struck by the clothes of Charles the Twelfth, which he wore when he was killed, and *very proudly put them on.*" What a falling off was there! Without being maliciously inclined, such folly is enough to remind the reader of the story of the ass dressed in the lion's skin.

He tells his reader that the "*breeches were so greasy they may be fried;*" and that the king never used any comb, "*but his fingers,*" and used to spread butter on his bread with his thumb instead of a knife, p. 146. His account of "*the Swedish ladies*" is both ridiculous and inaccurate. His assertion that Gustavus the Third secretly consulted with his friends "*in the recesses of the rocks*" at Haga, p. 153, is totally groundless. Equally inaccurate is his description of Swedish carriages, p. 159. His account of Danmora Mine, *errors and all*, p. 161, he borrowed from Radcliffe's translation, p. 108. His account of *a culprit* is as ludicrous, as any blunder he had previously committed, as also is his description of *Smedjegaard*, the Newgate of Stockholm, p. 176.

he has recently been informed, through the medium of a British Royal Academician, that the father of Sergell was a German. Be that as it may, to the taste and munificence of Gustavus the Third, he was indebted for the means of displaying his astonishing abilities, and of course, for

Sir John's praise of '*Swedish washerwomen*,' p. 179, is very ill deserved; as taken on an average, there are no worse in all Europe. Sir Robert Ker Porter, by way of a silent rebuke, gave in his travels, a plate representing persons whom *he* believed to have been washerwomen. He was, however, essentially deceived; for Sir John meant *laundresses;* and the persons represented in Sir Robert Porter's volume, were mere drudges, washing household linen almost as coarse as hop-sacking.

His tale of '*the indecorum of a little dog*,' p. 181, is most certainly, of all Sir John Carr's errors, the most ludicrous. It is really astonishing he was so weak as to insert such contemptible nonsense.

"*Swedish Cleanliness*." p. 186.—"One morning I was looking *over the deck* from the *stern*, I beheld an operation somewhat *ridiculous;* but as it originated in *rude* notion of cleanliness, and moreover is one of the *domestic* customs of the country, I shall relate it. Our skipper was lying at the feet of a *good-natured brawney* girl, who *was* a passenger; his head *was* on her lap, just as *Goliah* some time since rested *his in* that of Delilah; but the fingers of our *fair* companion were more kindly employed than *were* those of the *woman* of the *valley* of *Sorek!* the skipper had *no* comb, perhaps *never heard* of such a *thing*, and this *kind-hearted* creature was *sedulously* consigning with a *humane*, because an *instantaneous destruction of sensation* in every *vital* part by an *equal* and *forcible* pressure, every restless disturber of his peace in that *region*, which most assuredly must be, though doctors may dispute *the point*, *the seat of reason;* the cabin-boy succeeded his master, and in return, with *the keen eye* and *nimble finger of a monkey*, gratefully repaid the obligation upon the head of his bene-

the fame and wealth that he acquired. He was placed with Mons. L'Archeveque, a French artist of distinguished talents and well deserved celebrity. At the king's expense, he was afterwards sent to study at Rome; where he was soon distinguished by his talents and industry.

factress. In *Italy*, these engaging *little offices of kindness* constitute the *principal delights of courtship.*"

This is the last quotation from Sir John Carr's Northern Summer, and certainly the most disreputable to its author. Lady Geyer of Roerstrand, once asked Mr. Brown what possible motive Sir John Carr could have for inserting such disgusting trash in his tour. To this question no satisfactory answer being given, her ladyship said, "I fear, you English, are an ill-natured nation who delight in slander. Were it otherwise, your authors dared not load their pages with such offensive matter." It is very likely Sir John only intended to be witty, but failing in that object, he became disgusting. The better sort of people in Sweden are as clean as the the same class in England: and as to his assertion, that the filthy scenes he obtruded on the public eye, forming the principal *delights* of Italian courtship, it shews a degreee of folly that favors of mental imbecility. With these remarks, Sir John Carr and the Northern Summer are dismissed.

The next work that appeared, was Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Sweden and Russia, in whose praise for industry, accuracy, or candour there is little to be said. With talents of a higher order than Sir John Carr possessed, he fell into errors no less gross. His criticisms on Swedish painters and sculptors will long remain a monument of his want of liberality and justice. His panegyrics on the weak and unfortunate king (Gustavus the Fourth) who was almost universally despised by his subjects, shewed a *servility* of mind and manners no less disreputable than the insolence and contempt with which he spoke of artists, some of whom possessed talents and taste commensurate, if not far superior, to his own.

A British sculptor, the late Thomas Banks, R. A. an artist who was the equal of Sergell in all but his good fortune, was then studying at Rome: between these great and splendid geniuses a friendship was contracted that did not end with their residence in Italy.

The next quarto to be reviewed is Doctor Thomas Thomson's Travels, &c. A work that with greater propriety might have been called 'A Mineralogical Survey of Sweden,' viewed in which light it is an highly entertaining and most valuable work.

This author, p. 5, speaking of the rocks near Wingo Sund, states that not a single *plant*, nor even a *lichen* or moss is to be found upon them. In this he was utterly mistaken: the writer of these remarks has traversed those very rocks, seen several kinds of lichen, and between the ridges a tolerable sprinkling of plants, and he plucked ripe *raspberries* and *gooseberries* of excellent flavour, that grew and ripened there.

P. 14, Mr. Thomson mentions having drank tea with some family where they gave him only *hot water*, *sugar*, and *cream;* and thence he concludes that *all* the Swedish ladies make poor tea! This was just as sagacious as Voltaire's traveller, who, on his first entrance into some kingdom, seeing a red haired landlord, wrote in his journal, "*the people are all red haired.*"

Such puerile remarks are disgraceful to any traveller, above all, to a man of Dr. Thomson's science.

His remarks about London porter; his assertion that the *Swedes* always use it, are totally erroneous; the *Swedes* seldom or never use any. p. 16, 17.

The learned doctor's statement as to the wretched state of agriculture so near to the second or third city in Sweden, and where provisions were so enormously dear, are probably inaccurate. The immediate vicinity of Gothenborg, on the shores of the Gotha Älf, present some very interesting objects of study, and particularly the *inscription* carved on the bare rock near *Kongsgrafwen* i. e.

Whilst Sergell resided there, he executed some of his greatest works, the Cupid and Psyche so well known to northern travellers, and which the king, for whom it was executed, allowed to remain in possession of the artist during life: a Diomede carrying away the Pal-

King Hjelmar's grave, discovered by the great Sir Charles Linné on the 11th July 1746, which lines have never yet been translated.

Sir Charles Linné, thus expresses himself relative to those curious relics of ancient times. "*Runic Stones* here were not any; but the country people said, that eastward from the tomb was a mountain on which something was engraved in unknown characters. We went thither, and we found three lines inscribed, which extended about *two hundred feet*: the letters stood within the lines over and under, which ran longitudinally along the smooth shelving rock. Each letter was twelve or eighteen inches long, and generally one or two characters over each line, though most of them were almost straight, either perpendicular or leaning to the right or left. I am certain this runic stone has not been read for *a hundred years*, as in many places the turf lay above the inscription two or three inches deep." The author of the Northern Courts visited this spot on the 26th August 1806. After much labor and fatigue, he found the inscription alluded to.—Some of these characters resembled AγHηλιTτχω. of the Greek, and ארוקץ of the Hebrew. There were many other inscriptions round this spot, all equally unintelligible to him. These objects are certainly worth more attention than they have experienced. When Mr. B. enquired of the merchants of Gothenborg respecting these inscriptions, no one could give him the least information. Even the rustics, who lived near, had forgotten, or never had known them; at last, by the aid of a very old woman he discovered the place. The turf was again accumulated an inch thick upon the rock; which, perhaps had been growing ever since

ladium; also wrought in Carrara marble, about four feet in height, for Mr. TALBOT, of Wales: a faun reposing, for a French ambassador at Malta. When he left Rome he went to Paris, where the known taste of the Swedish king, his warm patronage of M. Sergell, and the exquisite works

Sir Charles Linné's visit in 1746. If Mr. Thomson had been informed of these objects, particularly the salt springs, and the blocks of stone, strewed along the shores, he would no doubt have paid them due attention.

The learned doctor's observations on agriculture, are radically erroneous. His assertion that "the *carts* in Sweden are all four wheeled," p. 26, is laughable: their carts have only *two* wheels, as with us. "There are no blankets to be seen in Sweden!!!" p. 28. This, if possible, is worse than his assertion respecting '*four wheeled carts*.' "The Swedes have ALL light flaxen hair and a ruddy countenance. I would say, they have a certain degree of *flabbiness* visible in their *complexion*," p. 29. His remarks about the post-boys arose from his total ignorance of their language, and of the posting law.—"The peasants in Sweden are *all* clean and well dressed in *coarse* BLUE *cloth*!!!" He describes the Dalkarlians, p. 201, as being *all* dressed in "*whitish cloths*," and in the very same province they certainly dress in *black!* So much for the accuracy of his assertion that *all* the rustics dress in BLUE cloth. As if he were running a race, and committing blunders against time; in p. 30, he says "the peasants have ALL round hats, and wear *silk* handerchiefs round their necks." There is not one Swedish labourer in ten thousand that ever had a *silk handkerchief* of his own in the whole course of his life!

His remarks, p. 30, that the country wheelwrights and carpenters *always* take advantage of strangers, are unjust: there there are knaves as well as fools to be found in most countries, but the peasantry of Sweden, taken as a whole, are proverbially

he had executed at Rome, procured him a reception highly flattering. Whilst Sergell was in Paris, he modelled, and finished, one of the most perfect pieces of sculpture that, according to Abbé Winkelman, ever was produced by any artist, ancient or modern. It was the Otriades

honest. Doctor Thomson, like Sir John Carr, Porter, &c. has metamorphosed proper names, and made the orthography of Åby conform to its pronunciation *Oby*, spelling Åland, *Oland*, &c. His description of the water-falls of Trollhätte is very much indeed below the grandeur and vastness of the object, p. 38. He calls *Lidköping*, a *small* town, which (for Sweden) is a considerable inland city, containing several large and handsome edifices.

Mr. Thomson mentions a work, at Hönsätter belonging to Hof Junkeren Bengt Van Hoffsten, to whom the writer of these remarks had a very kind introductory letter from Chevalier Geyer of Roerstrand, his brother-in-law. They were an hospitable family. The seat and grounds are reckoned among the rural beauties of Sweden. It is singular, Doctor Thomson, indeed, passed them by unnoticed. These views are so very grand it is next to impossible, when seen, they could be forgotten.

Chapter III. is very scientific, and wholly dedicated to mineralogical subjects. P. 45, the doctor asserts that *Hunneberg* was *inaccessible!* There are many families dwelling on the top, and there must be *roads*, of course, by which they go up and down. He is silent as to the beautiful cascades and scenery formed by the Gothe Älf in front of Sir C. Bagge's seat. And though he gave such *copious* information as to agriculture, and was so very near the seats of Barons Silfwerskjöld and Von Plaaten, two of the first agriculturists in Sweden, he has not named them nor their improvements.

"The greatest part of *Nerike* is covered by forests of pines and birch," p. 64. A gross misrepresentation. This pic-

(mentioned by Mr. Coxe)* in the agonies of death, his face expressing a love of glory subduing pain, and inscribing on his shield Δὶι Τρόπαιῳ, "*To victory!*" This beautiful piece was about eighteen inches long.

From France, M. Sergell passed over to Eng-

turesque province abounds in *lakes*, and mines; there is also a great deal of well cultivated land, as he admits in another place. Tobacco is not used as generally as Doctor Thomson asserts in p. 65, nor is it cultivated to any *considerable extent* in Sweden.

His observations relative to the demand of his passport by the sentinels at Örebro, p. 66, shows how little he had been accustomed to passing through fortified towns in time of war. The comment, p. 67, on the search made by Custom-house officers, are marked by the same stamp. If Mr. T. had known that the *local duties* are *farmed* in every city, he would not have made them. Speaking of Örebro, he asserts, "The houses are ALL *of wood.*" If he had walked through this city in day time, (that will probably become the future capital of Sweden), his eyes must have convinced him to the contrary. The comments in p. 74, relative to Swedish posting, displays his want of more correct information on the subject on which he wrote. He reproaches the peasants for having obtained '*a monopoly*' of supplying post horses! whereas it is notoriously a source of the greatest oppression under which agriculture labors, and is often *ruinous* to the poor farmers, who *are compelled*, work

* The same author mentions another work in which Sergell was engaged, namely, a statue of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus crowning with laurels the bust of Gustavus Adolphus the Great. Vol. iv. p. 69. Mr. Brown has no recollection of seeing any such statue either in the palace, or in the work-room of the artist.

land, and resided some time in London, associating with our most celebrated artists, who, to borrow Sir Horace Walpole's words, "were in flower" about 1780. Hence he returned to Sweden, where he was ennobled by Gustavus the Third, having delighted his munificent king by the bril-

or no work, to send their horses to a certain station at a certain time. As to the law that '*smacks*,' of the same influence, i. e. limiting the rate of driving to *five* miles English per hour; it is probably not correct. In 1808, they were compelled to go a mile Swedish within the hour, which is nearly seven miles English.

Mr. Thomson, p. 83, mentions an estate belonging to Mr. Dundas, a scotch gentleman, 'who purchased it ten years since.' He alluded to Ekholmsund, a place well worthy a traveller's notice; an account of which is inserted in a note to page 346, vol. i. Northern Courts.

In p. 84, our traveller asserts, that *so great was the fertility of some land near Tibble*, he counted a single ear that contained sixty-four grains of barley; and another with eighty! and that the crop was the finest he had ever seen! In p. 428, the learned doctor gravely asserts, that the *average* crops of Sweden yield only *one-fifth* of an English bushel from an acre and a quarter; and this, he says, "is the *miserable pittance* of each individual, per annum!!!" It is really astonishing how he could allow such very absurd statements to escape his pen; or risk the consequences of attempting to instruct the Swedish nation how to increase the general average of their crops *thirty-fold!* In this page of monstrous blunders, the learned doctor affirms that every farm has about *one thousand* acres of forest, by way of common. It is beyond the author's power to explain by what means Doctor Thomson has been so completely bewildered and misled. In the table, p. 426, he states that the *tunnaland* Swedish is about an acre and a quarter English; the *tunna* of corn he states to be no more than *one-tenth* part of an English bushel!

liancy of his genius, and the matchless excellencies of his works.

The author has been informed, that when Sergell was in England, he was afflicted by that nervous melancholy, which afterwards acquired so powerful an influence as to render his life

whereas it is equal to about thirty-four gallons beer measure. By this enormous error he has diminished the produce of corn in the proportion of about *forty-nine* out of every *fifty*.

So far from this miserable pittance being all that falls to the share of an individual, the following statement will prove that a farmer's servant has upwards of *two quarters* of corn, besides meat and vegetables, allowed for his subsistence.

The allowance of *städt drangarne*, or victualled servants, in Sweden, is each

Per Annum.	*Daily allowance.*
One tunna of rye	One pint of new milk,
Two ditto of barley.	At *least* a quart of sour milk, or butter milk, with cabbage, turnips, carrots, &c. according to circumstances.
Three-fourths ditto barley and oats mixed, for malt.	They are not allowed any candle except at Christmas, the fire serving them instead.
Quarter of a tunn, or a bushel, of pease.	At Christmas, each is allowed
Three pounds of hops.	Two kappers, or a peck, of rye,
Two ditto of wool.	Three ditto, or nearly half a bushel of malt,
One tunna of potatoes.	One pint of brandy,
Sixty pounds (English) of dried beef.	Three pounds of beef and bacon,
Twenty pounds of bacon.	Half of a salt-ling,
Quarter of a tunn (250) of herrings.	A middle size candle.
One-eighth ditto of salt, about nine gallons.	

These facts, which Mr Brown derived from Mr. George Stephens (or Stevens), an agriculturist employed by the Society

miserable, society irksome, and drove him from his studies long before his mental or physical functions were otherwise impaired.

On his return to Stockholm, Sergell was received with great distinction by the king: honors and riches flowed fast upon him; and his desire

of Örebro, proves that every farmer's servant-man has more corn food than Doctor Thomson allowed to upwards of a hundred, by his erroneous statement.

The wages vary from twelve to twenty rix dollars; *i. e.* from one pound sixteen shillings to three pounds sterling per annum, besides two rix dollars earnest; and they are allowed four pair of shoes, worth three shillings per pair; and, in case of very good behaviour, also a pair of boots. All the farmers and labourers pay a poll tax, amounting to nearly six shillings English: this is called *Mantal.* His wages, clothes, and food, in ordinary times, were computed at one hundred rix dollars, or fifteen pounds, expense to his employer. The *stått drangarne, i. e.* victualled servants, live in an out-house, where they have bed rooms, kitchen, &c. to themselves: and a female drudge to wait upon them, who is called drangarnes pigan, *i. e.* the servants' maid. When any traveller pleases to communicate the result of his researches in foreign countries, he should be very cautious that he is not misled, or adopts erroneous opinions. Sweden being the most interesting theatre for the naturalist, or mineralogist, in all Europe, Doctor Thomson naturally thought he should be able to assist and direct the future researches of those classes of travellers, and more particularly the lovers of mineralogy. This task he appears to have performed in a style far surpassing every other English tourist; and it is much to be regretted, he meddled with Swedish agriculture. There is a large fund of science displayed in this volume; and much good sense and liberal sentiment. Relative to the fine arts, he says little; but that little is modestly expressed, and indicates a better taste than most

to increase his fame, and please his royal patron, led him to attend with close application to his profession; and he produced those exquisitely sculptured busts of the king, queen, and royal family, that are to be seen in the great palace at Stockholm; and if Charles the Fourteenth, John

of his predecessors possessed. The endeavours of the learned traveller to exalt the grandeur of the scenery around his favorite city (Edinburgh), seems to have led him to detract a little from the matchless beauty that distinguishes the locality of Stockholm, perhaps beyond any other city in the world. Edinburgh is unquestionably nobly adorned by romantic and picturesque views; but a single glance at the view given by Mr. James, vol. i. p. 193, though too small and too distant to convey an adequate idea of its beauty and grandeur, will satisfy any reasonable person of its superiority over Edinburgh. This marked partiality is pardonable, if not commendable; and his pages are free from that black malignancy that disgrace Acerbi's volumes; from the frivolity that runs through Sir John Carr's; the mixture of pride and caprice so conspicuous in Sir Robert Ker Porter's, and the unbecoming, ungracious *hauteur* too visible in the otherwise valuable Journal of a Tour in Sweden, &c. by J. T. James, Esq.

The Mr. Swedenstjerna mentioned by Mr. Thomson, p. 106, was sent to England in 1805 or 6, at the expense of the Swedish mine owners, to observe and report the state of our iron and steel works.

Part of the observations on the Swedish, Danish, and German languages, p. 107, 8, 9, bear evident marks that the learned writer was rather out of his element, and did not perfectly understand the subject.

It is astonishing Mr. Thomson should affirm there are no taverns in Stockholm! There are *several* that come completely within the denomination, and more than a hundred houses

possesses a sound judgment, he will never cause them to be put away, and hidden, lest they should remind the spectators of the Gustavian dynasty.

When Gustavus visited Italy, he was accompanied by Sergell, whom he consulted relative to

where ordinaries are held, and wine and liquors sold. Vide p. 112.

With these remarks, which do not detract from the distinguished merit of the work considered as a mineralogical survey of Sweden, the author closes his exposition of the leading errors of Doctor Thomson's 'TRAVELS in SWEDEN,' and their source.

The last work to be reviewed is the Journal of a Tour in Sweden, by J. T. James, Esq.

The mistakes contained in this work are certainly less numerous than in the preceding; but the excellencies are also of less importance. Mr. James seems to have made up his mind to see nothing to admire in Sweden, except the water falls and landscape views: by which disposition, he diminished his means of self-cultivation, and injured his work. Except the Swedish artists have deteriorated very greatly since 1808, his character of the painters, vol. I. p. 209, must be very unjust, for he denies by implication, the gift of original genius to the whole body, allowing them only the humbler merit of *imitation*. And, unless the disposition of the gentlemen of Sweden has also changed, and very greatly too, for the worse; his description of their manners is both illiberal and unjust. Vol. I. p. 242, he thus expresses himself, "Rigidly ceremonious, they make their stiff and measured courtesies the *essentials* rather than the forms of life, and seem in a stranger's eye, a people *cold in their nature as the very snows they dwell upon*. Their characteristics, a passive courage not unmixed with indolence; a pride not free from ignorance; a

the marbles mentioned in p. 29. The king was much addicted to the study of architecture: his taste and science, if not of the very first order, were far beyond the description given by J. T. James, Esq. in his Journal, as will be shewn in the slight review given of a part of that work.

disposition that is not ill humoured, from having no humour at all, from indifference—from apathy." These expressions bear internal marks of the very characteristics Mr. James imputes to the Swedes! If he found the Swedish gentleman as cold as the snow on which he dwells,—which is an unwarrantable assertion, might it not have originated in the supercilious mien, sarcastic words, or sullen and contemptuous glance—of the narrator? With all the errors that disfigure Doctor Thomson's work, there are many just and wise remarks, amongst which might, with great propriety be classed the following, viz. "It is owing to things of this kind, of no apparent consequence in themselves, but of very great consequence on account of the impression which they make, that Great Britain is so unpopular with most nations on the continent; and that the French, with all their injustice and tyranny, are upon the whole *more acceptable*. There is something in human nature which leads men to resent *insolence* much more than injustice. There is hardly any person who would not rather forgive a man who had robbed him of his money, than one who has treated him as a fool. In most Englishmen who travel" (Mr. JAMES affords a striking instance of the justice of this remark), "as far as I have had an opportunity of observing them, there is an unaccountable wish to let foreigners, with whom they associate, know that they despise them. The thing which surprised me most upon such occasions was, that the people amongst whom they were *bore with them so long*." The author of the Northern Courts has trod the same ground as Mr. James and associated with persons of as great rank and consequence: but, during ten months residence in Sweden, and daily inter-

The melancholy that had long been increasing in power, received a great accession of power when his royal patron was assassinated; but it did not induce him to retire altogether from his labours. He modelled, and had cast in gyps, two colossal figures, to adorn the funeral honors paid

course with persons eminent for rank, taste, science, and abilities, he never saw any instance of such bad taste, or any thing that gave rise to opinions like those broached by Mr. James; who certainly possesses considerable talent, but whose judgment appears to have been warped by too over-weaning an opinion of his own importance. If a traveller wishes to be respected, he should prove himself deserving that homage by rendering it where it is due. The insolence and contempt that appears so conspicuously in the carriage of so many British travellers; their sullen reserve, their demi-barbarous hauteur, have entailed more odium on this country than all its crimes political or commercial. It greatly tended to unite the continent against us under Napoleon; and the same vile and dishonourable conduct in individuals is at this moment rapidly operating to the same end. The Mr. Swedenstjerna mentioned by Doctor Thomson, p. 106, visited Great Britain, and after a considerable stay, upon his return to Sweden he published his tour. That gentleman was certainly Mr. James's equal as to birth, situation, abilities, and attainments. If he had been inclined to have indulged in a sarcastic querulous tone, and to have expressed himself pleased with only very few persons or things, he was at least as competent to the task as Mr. James; instead of which, he seemed to have viewed this country as a philosopher, and spoke of it in dignified and respectful terms.

Mr. James takes but little notice of the living poets of Sweden, or the works of the dead. He mentions Chevalier Edlercrantz, K. P. S. who was ennobled in 1808, as *Mister* Edlercrantz (vide p. 215, and note). He met there the chief literary

to his beloved Gustavus; the one a female, emblematical of Sweden; the other a lion, the emblem of Gothland. That which represented the genius of Sweden, of all the majestic female figures the author ever beheld, was the finest. The attitude was touchingly mournful: the beautiful

characters in Stockholm. Was it here he found the *rigid* unbending *stiffness* of which he complained? In Chevalier Edlercrantz he saw a gentleman, whose elegance of manners, and high endowments, should have checked this propensity to censure. This noble Swede is celebrated as a first-rate poet, which quality it was that procured him the patronage of Gustavus the Third. Yet Mr. James is altogether silent on that interesting

* When Mr. Brown was in Stockholm he had the honour of being introduced to this nobleman, from whom he received the following note, viz.—

"My dear Sir, "16th April, 1808.

"I have read with great interest, though not a perfect conviction, Mr. Cobbett's arguments, tending to prove war in general to be not only necessary, but even conducive, to the general happiness of mankind, and consequently a real good, though not unmixed with evil. The same reasoning could be applied to *death;* and as it is permitted us to delay this last happy incident so long as we possibly can; so nations may, I hope, be excused in avoiding or delaying the former. I am much obliged to you, Sir, for their communication, and shall be still more so if you should grant me the continuation of them.

I remain, with great esteem,
My dear Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
A. M. EDLERCRANTZ."

"*J. Brown, Esq. 98, Pals Gaatn.*"

This is copied from the English in which it was written. Is there any rigid formality visible in this? Are there no traits of humour in his criticisms on Mr. Cobbett's Register? The writer ranked high as a votary of the *belles lettres.*

features showed no less fortitude than sorrow. The lion was stretched couchant at the feet of the female, its head placed straight between its extended paws; and the artist had contrived to throw into the attitude and features of the sovereign of the forest, a strong natural appearance of

topic. He has thrown a great deal of dry matter into his work, that fills a space which might have been occupied more to the advantage of his reader.

Mr. James asserts, p. 233, "The first paper note of Sweden was stamped in 1717, in the reign of Charles the Twelfth." In all this he is wrong: there were abundance of paper notes in circulation long before that period.

In the cabinet of national and natural curiosities at Drottningholm, chiefly collected by Queen Louisa Ulrica, there was deposited *one* of the first Bank notes issued in Sweden. It was dated 1660. The sum was no larger than '*tio daler silvermynt*' that is, rather more than a Spanish dollar, to which instrument the ten Bank directors set their names and seals!

Mr. James, in the same page asserts that it was not till 1789 "that gold and silver began to *grow really scarce* in Sweden!"

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall visited Sweden in 1774; *and his tour* is deeply tainted with the same levity and ill-timed sarcasm that occasionslly disfigure Mr. James's Journal, and his errors are, perhaps, much more numerous. In *Wraxall's* tour, p. 96, he asserts that during a journey of 400 miles, namely, from Helsingborg to Stockholm, he did not see one *bit* of *silver* or gold; and that the only circulating medium was *paper*, or copper! Mr. James was evidently ignorant of the Swedish tongue, or so many proper names of men and places would not have been so incorrectly spelt: which deficiency alone is almost an insurmountable obstacle in the way of every traveller to whom it attaches. It was in all probability, the reason of Doctor

deep grief and despondency. Those figures cast in gyps, were, in 1808, in Sergell's work room, that was filled with beautiful models and casts, the productions of his masterly hand. Amongst these objects, so fascinating to the admirer of exquisite sculpture, was a figure, also of gyps,

Thomson falling into such numerous and gross errors; many of which he might have avoided, even by consulting any Swedish and English dictionary.

Among the mistakes of minor consequence is, Mr. James terming the Gotha Älf, the river *Gotha*, vide vol. I. p. 5, and 16. That river takes its rise in the '*Alps of Norway*,' as the ridge of mountains are called, that separate the Stift of Trondheim (Drontheim) from Osterdalen. In Norway the stream is called the *Tryssild Elv:* where it enters Sweden, it takes the name of the *Clara Älf*.—Passing through Wermerland, it enters the Venern Lake at Carlstadt. The only outlet of that vast sheet of fresh water is near Wenersborg, and called the *Gotha Älf*, because it runs through West Gothland. Mr. Coxe committed this mistake in his travels, and it has been copied by every British traveller since his time.

Mr. James having arrived at Åbo, the *Obo* of Doctor Thomson, vol. I. p. 360, he mentions six *bas-reliefs* executed by a pupil of Sergell, illustrative of the history of learning in those parts, commencing with a fable from the *Edda*. It is to be regretted that Mr. James had not the curiosity to ask his name, nor the generosity to record it in his pages. Perhaps it was Mr. Johan Niclas Byrström, who, in 1808 resided in the house of Mr. Grevesmuhls, merchant (near Sergell's residence), on Brunkebergs Torget, Stockholm. Although it may be supposed the melancholy that oppressed his great master, must have been some impediment to his attaining that full degree of instruction he would otherwise have had: Mr. Byrstrom in 1808, had already distinguished himself, particularly by a figure,

representing Circe in search of her daughter, which was generally admired. Perhaps there was not in all Europe, Paris excepted, any sculptor's work, or exhibition room, that contained so many and as superb specimens; but it must also be remembered, except in France under Napoleon, in no country was such powerful patronage bestowed, as Sergell enjoyed under Gustavus the Third.

There was another creditable trait in the character of Gustavus the Third, relative to the patronage of arts and artists, which ought to be mentioned, and that was his steady and becoming carriage whilst sitting to sculptors or painters. On those occasions he forbade the presence of the fluttering insects that at once polluted and adorned

about 20 inches long, modelled from the Greek Endymion, and cast in gyps. There was also in the exhibition, a beautiful bas-relief, designed and modelled by this young artist, representing Virgil reading the 6th Book of the Adventures of Æneas to Augustus and Octavia, whose emotion were finely expressed where the poet said "*tu Marcellus erit;*" [thou shalt be Marcellus.] The possession of Swedish Finland by Russia, naturally drew away from Stockholm a large proportion of artists, who, under the protection of a sovereign who devotes *five millions of rubles annually* to the embellishment of his capitals, may acquire a degree of fame and riches not to be hoped for in Sweden: Mr. James's remarks, p. 365 to 368, fully corroborate the justice of General Sir Robert Wilson's assertion relative to the refined policy of Russia. Already it seems the people are reconciled to their change of masters, and the *rich* and *wealthy* are pleased with the more powerful protection of their conquerors.

his court, and afforded the artists a fair opportunity of displaying their taste and science to the best advantage.

The last work of Sergell's that the author ever saw, and, as he believes, the last this great artist ever executed, was the drawing, modelling, and casting in bronze, of the statue of his beloved king and patron, which magnificent piece of art was opened to the public, with the utmost pomp and ceremony, by Gustavus the Fourth, in February, 1808.

The Apollo Belvidere* is supposed to represent that deity at the instant when his arrows had pierced the heart of the Python, and before the twang of his mighty bow had ceased. Without being a copyist Sergell seized a similar happy thought, whereby to confer national interest on this statue. He chose the moment so dear to the hearts of Swedish warriors, when that monarch, flushed by recent victory, returned to his capital, from Finland, once more, to cherish and animate the fine arts, bearing in his hand the emblem of peace. As the battle of Svensksund paved the way to peace, Sergell skilfully availed himself of that circumstance, in grouping the statue: the head, small and elevated, is uncovered, leaving his flowing locks unconfined; the mantle, the ancient emblem of high command, gives breadth

* Vide Anmärkingar, &c. by G. A. Silverstolpe, Stockholm, 1808.

and harmony to the figure; the swelling chest, the firm, well turned, and nervous limbs, covered by a thin drapery in the Spanish fashion, and such as the king usually wore, shows his form to the utmost advantage, next to nudity. In his left hand, which he rests upon the rudder of a ship, the hero grasps a crown of laurel; in the right, gracefully extended towards his capital, the olive branch is borne. The face is more than a likeness; it is so very expressive of the animated original when lighted up by any great and joyful event, that it sensibly affected the warriors and artists who gazed on the statue, and by whom the memory of this monarch is still cherished.

In casting the statue, some material accidents occurred with the metal: exclusive of several minor defects, the right leg was displaced. These misfortunes, after great labor, were remedied by Sergell himself, who did not, however, finish this great work without the assistance of M. Prevôts, whose taste and science were eminently displayed in its completion, and generally applauded.

In 1808 Sergell was not accessible to his dearest friends. Captain Ker Porter found means, however, to gain access to the misanthrope: a compliment of which his subsequent conduct proved he was undeserving. The dethronement of Gustavus the Fourth affected Sergell seriously; the elevation of the Prince of Ponto Corvo more. The desponding artist absolutely refused to see the newly-

elected Crown Prince, who, resolving not to be disappointed, is said to have entered the chamber of the melancholy artist, paid him many compliments, and requested him to execute his bust in marble. The author is unable to state whether the request of the prince was complied with: most probably it was not: according to an account derived from an eminent artist before alluded to, Sergell has been dead some years,* and thus escaped seeing the throne of his beloved Gustavus filled by a FRENCHMAN.

The following catalogue comprises the principal labors of this illustrious artist, viz.—Cupid and Psyche, a groupe, large as life, in Carrara marble, intended to be placed in an elegant Grecian temple, erected in the park at Haga, after a design drawn by Gustavus the Third and his first architect, Desprez. In the apartment, called Pelaren Salen, *the Saloon of Pillars*, a Venus du Belle Fesses, and an Apollo, both of full size, and of Carrara marble. This magnificent room is lined with large mirrors of the finest Venetian plate glass. Each of these beautiful statues is placed between two pillars, and opposite to a mirror. The back of the Apollo is greatly admired by artists and

* The author spared no pains to acquire better information. He sent a messenger to May Fair, to the Swedish *Chargé d'Affaires*, who could not tell whether this great Swedish artist were living or dead! Many other applications were alike unavailing.

amateurs. The head of the Venus was modelled from the Countess Höpkens, one of the handsomest ladies of the Swedish court.

In the velvet chamber, *i. c. sammets rummet*, are six marble busts* and richly wrought pedestals of white marble, representing Sophia Magdalena, consort of Gustavus the Third; the late king, when Duke of Sodermanland; and Frederick Duke of Östra Gothland, who died abroad; the Queen Dowager of Sweden, then Duchess of Sodermanland; Gustavus the Fourth, when young; and the Princess Albertina, sister to Gustavus the Third.

At the grand entrance of the east or north-east front, formerly the apartment of the Duke of Sodermanland, in 1808, was a copy of the Medician Venus, in white marble. It is not usual with artists of Sergell's rank to copy the works of any other master. It must therefore be supposed to have been executed to oblige the brother of his royal patron. It is allowed to have been copied so well, that, were it not for the effects of a couple of thousand years on the colour of the marble, they could not be distinguished. Mr.

* To artists of eminent taste and science, it must be a very irksome task to work on busts; more especially when the originals are mere living mountains of flesh, and their huge faces, loaded with pendent folds of fat, destitute of every thing animated or graceful. This was not the case with the late Gustavian dynasty, whose figures were, in general, fine, and their features expressive.

Johan Niclas Byrstrom, the last pupil taught by Sergell, informed the author that Sergell found one muscle wrong placed or wanting over the sternum. An English nobleman is said to have offered the duke two thousand guineas for this beautiful copy;* which was taken from the cast,† sent from Italy, and is exhibited in the royal Swedish academy of painting and sculpture.

In the mynt cabinet, Drottningholm palace, is a magnificent bust of white marble, of Queen Louisa Ulrica, large as life, placed on a superb marble pedestal. In the city, a monument to the memory of Des Cartes, in Fredrick's church, was designed by Sergell and executed in gyps. The design will not bear investigation,‡ but it is

* It has very recently been announced in the Morning Herald (17th March, 1818), that Canova declared, when in England, that the Marquis of Landsdown had purchased in Italy, and actually was in possession of the *original* Greek Venus, of which the Venus de Medicis is only a copy! Fifteen or twenty centuries hence, perhaps, this copy by Sergell may pass as the *original*, whence both the others were copied.

† "The royal academy of painting and sculpture, at Stockholm, contains a fine collection of casts from the ancient statues at Rome; these were the first impressions of the only moulds ever permitted to be taken. Louis the Fourteenth obtained that permission from the Pope, and sent the casts to Charles the Eleventh (of Sweden), which are therefore uniques of the kind. They were presented by Adolphus Frederick to the academy of painting and sculpture which he instituted," Vide Coxe, vol. iv. p. 7. (or rather his queen Louisa Ulrica.)

‡ When the sun or moon are introduced into landscape scenery, there are certain proportions observed by which har-

so beautifully executed that it enchants every beholder, and renders it a matter of serious regret it was not executed in marble or bronze. It represents an angel lifting a veil by which the globe had been covered, and illuminating it with a torch.*

mony is preserved. Not so with this much-admired design; the angel, that is represented flying above the earth and withdrawing the *veil*, or *drapery*, by which it was darkened, is larger than the earth itself!

It has been observed to the author, that the great northern sculptor has not left behind him any one design that bespeaks a bold and grand original genius; and that his great forte existed in his exquisite taste and high finish of his works. Viewed in this light, Sergell's Mars and Venus, Cupid and Psyche, Diomede and the Palladium, and even the colossal statue of Gustavus III. as far as the *design*, however classical, is concerned, might be termed common-place; but the beautiful proportions, fine outlines, propriety of attitude, symmetry of form, softness of muscle, loveliness of feature, the powerful and intense expression of *sentiment*, that distinguish the marbles wrought by his magic hand, cause the enraptured beholder to forget every thing except to admire, nay, almost to adore.

* Sir Robert Porter has committed himself in a very extraordinary way, in his criticism on this beautiful monument. He mistook it for L'Archeveque's work, and rudely condemned it! And he lavished the warmest praise upon the altar-piece that the latter artist had executed, supposing it to have been Sergell's work! How few artists can act with candour in judging of the labors of men possessed of a genius beyond their own flight. Sir Robert Ker Porter was, by nature, generous and liberal; both the artists whose works he reviewed were of deservedly great repute; and, in an abortive attempt to depreciate the merits of L'Archeveque, he only exposed his own infirmity. This was almost as bad as Acerbi, respecting Mrs. Müller.

Such are the principal works of Sir John Tobias Sergell, and the places where they are to be seen.

Desprez, an eminent painter and architect, held a high place in the king's esteem. The plans and model of the projected palace, intended to have been erected at Haga, offer irrefutable proof of fine taste and grandeur. It displays a degree of science and magnificence equal to the model of St. Paul's, such as Sir Christopher wished it should have been constructed.

Roslin was a favored painter: there were, in 1808, several very fine portraits of his painting in the grand palace at Stockholm. Sir Charles Frederick Von Breda, K. V. studied under Sir Joshua Reynolds. His presentation piece was a portrait of his great master, whose *manner* he has been frequently reproached for having copied too servilely. His pictures are to be seen in most of the royal palaces.

Mr. Westmüller's Ariadne was the means of raising his fame; but after the death of Gustavus the Third, the fine arts declined so rapidly that he migrated to the United States, where his talents have been far better remunerated, if not more admired, than in Sweden.

Messrs. Professors Piper and Tempelman have been already mentioned: those artists produced many fine specimens of their taste and science in architecture. Of the poets, the Chevalier Adler-

crantz and Thorild stand amongst the foremost; of the former, more remains to be said in the next chapter.

The result of the author's judgment, considering the immense difference between the encouragement given to painters in Sweden and in England; and also between the number of inhabitants of Stockholm and of London, the latter containing *fourteen times* as many people, and a hundred fold the wealth of the former, is, that the monuments of native talent exhibited at the royal academy in 1808 at Stockholm, were quite as creditable to Sweden, as those at Somerset House to Great Britain: and he regrets that so many British travellers, thoughtless of the immense difference between the wealth and population of the two kingdoms, and too fond of decrying every thing that is not British, have written so unjustly, and often ridiculously, of the arts and artists in Sweden.

As to engraving,* in every department of that

* The powerful impulse given to this art by Messrs. Boydells formed a new era: and if those adventurous individuals had been as circumspect as they were at first eminently fortunate, it had been better for themselves, and for the artists of the day. It is merely a trading concern; its principal patrons are persons engaged in trade. In France, Italy, and Germany, princes and nobles have stood forward to enable engravers of eminent talents to engrave from the finest pictures, and have rewarded them most munificently. No such patronage has been bestowed in England, and the art is *degraded* by the same

beautiful art, there exists no comparison. In Great Britain, it has obtained a decided pre-eminence over every other nation, excepting France. But this has been owing rather to the effects of commerce and the wealth it has so generally diffused. Mr. Martin, held the first rank as an engraver in Stockholm; and his brother, who visited London in 1768, was much admired as a painter of landscapes, in which pursuit, he was

hands by which it is adorned; for too many celebrated artists, when arrived at their greatest eminence, deceive the judgment of the inexperienced part of their customers, and abuse public confidence, by giving the sanction of their names to works of very inferior merit.

A new method of engraving, limited to particular subjects has been invented and brought to maturity by an historical engraver of established reputation, Mr. Cosmo Armstrong. The efficiency of this new discovery has been fully proved in an engraving presented by the artist to the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. The specimen was examined, and the public thanks of that society were voted to Mr. Armstrong for his original method of engraving, affirming that it was superior to any thing they had ever seen before. It is a method that is not possible to become common, for none but a first rate master will ever be capable of availing himself of its aid; and were this principle, jointly with his other knowledge of engraving, applied to the forming of Bank note plates, might not the crime of forging them be totally prevented, by rendering it altogether IMPRACTICABLE? Mr. Armstrong's new mode of engraving apparently possesses that capability. The plan recommended by Mr. Beaumont and others, would only render forgery *more difficult*. Mr. C. Armstrong's would go further, and prevent it altogether.

afterwards excelled by M. Louis Bellanger. There are many of their performances to be found in the royal palaces.—With these the author closes his account of the state of the fine arts under Gustavus the Third.

Of the king's talents as an artist,* there are, or rather there were, many specimens preserved in the palaces at Stockholm, Drottningholm, Haga, and Gripsholm; the meanest of which, if any

* In describing the metropolis of Sweden, vol. i. p. 193, Mr. James states, "At a little distance, a *low portico* obtrudes itself to notice, serving rather to disfigure than to ornament the view. It is no way worthy of mention, except on account of its singularity, fantastic fashion, and bad conception. One corner of the building of the mint being bevelled off, a four-legged protuberance, of the Doric order, was affixed thereto, in conformity with the whimsical fancy of Gustavus the Third, who was misled by an unfortunate prepossession in favour of his own talents as an architect. There certainly is not an instance in all London, and it is saying much, of a portico constructed with so little deference to correctness of judgment or true classical feeling."

Such are the harsh and unqualified terms of disapprobation in which Mr. James has condemned the taste of Gustavus the Third, because a portico has been constructed, the design of which is imputed to that monarch, that deviates from the chaste elegance and grandeur of the true Doric. The edifice to which it is affixed was erected long ere this intended embellishment was added. "*The corner*," as Mr. James has termed the east front of the original edifice, formed an unpleasing object, to *cover and conceal* which Gustavus had the portico in question placed there. It certainly is not a *low* portico, for the pillars are loftier, according to their diameter, than in any of the

thing *mean* was ever executed by his pencil, would prove the injustice of those who would deny his claim to pre-eminent excellence.

A volume might be filled with anecdotes and bon mots attributed to this monarch. The author will only repeat two which he heard in Stockholm, and believes to be original.

Doric temples at Athens, Delos, or at Pestum.* In Acerbi's Travels, vol. i. facing p. 42, a view of this portico is given. If the drawing was correct, the pillars are indeed not Doric; the frieze is a fancy arrangement; the capitals are not Doric; the entablature is too high, and *not sufficiently massive:* but local causes might, perhaps, be assigned to account for its disproportionate elevation. Whenever a traveller condemns any work of art altogether, his taste or judgment may always be doubted. The candid traveller, at all events, should point out its *specific* defects. The Doric portico of Covent Garden Theatre is a beautiful composition, and the best specimen in Great Britain, but it forms no essential part of the edifice. The magnificent Ionic portico, *behind* which, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Surgeons' Theatre is concealed, admits of the same observation. They are all of the description called *appliqué.*

* An artist of distinguished eminence, and well versed in the principles of architecture, and who has visited the Doric temple at Pestum, carefully examined the principles laid down in Rees's Encyclopædia, relative to the Doric order; but such was the confusion of references, *some of which were not to be found,* and others are misquoted, that it rendered the task laborious, and nearly defeated its object. If, therefore, the Encyclopædia Metropolitana should be as well executed, as the general plan is superior, a most important service will be rendered to men of science and literature. This, of course, depends on the spirit and judgment of the proprietors. All existent British Encyclopædias abound with extraneous and useless matter, altogether foreign to science; and there is scarcely any one subject, of which the account given will be found correct, if thoroughly investigated! The author referred to the word "*Sweden,*" and he gained about as much useful information as if he had had recourse to a book on cookery.

Soon after Gustavus the Third returned from Italy, a speculative Scotchman, deceived by the exaggerated stories he had heard descriptive of the profusion and munificence of the king, presented him with a ship of an extraordinary construction. It had five masts; a false keel; the masts could be all struck; and there were wheels under her bends, by which she might be propelled in calms. The author has no recollection of any internal power by steam. The expense of this

Having vented his spleen at the *four-legged protuberance*, the tasteful and liberal traveller proceeds, like a Mohawk, cutting up the reputation of all the Swedish architects, living and dead, modestly affirms, that "whatever their *date* may be, whether they are designed in the Grecian taste, the Gothic, or the mixed, the same air and character almost universally prevails: a meagre and hungry style, with small windows and puny decorations, niggardly proportions, and devoid of any attempt at relief in their parts; they look bare and naked, resembling rather the outlines of a drawing of an elevation before it is filled up with shade, than a finished work." Such are the terms in which Mr. James characterises Swedish taste and science as to architecture; but, like all such sweeping anathemas that too frequently disgrace the pages of British journalists, certainly beyond *all* other nations, they reflect more discredit on the promulgator than the object against which they are directed; in this case they are decidedly unjust, for there are to be seen in Sweden many elegant structures compiled after the Grecian, the Gothic, and the mixed style, that completely answer and rebut his reprehensible assertions. At the rear, and opposite to, the great palace, in Slots Bäcken there is a structure, the collonade of which, made to shew a perspective view between a double line of pillars, under a vaulted roof, possesses almost matchless beauty, and is equal to the finest specimen to be found in London.

vessel was very considerable. The king admitted the North Briton to an audience,—complimented his genius and science, and decorated his breast with the order of Vasa. As soon as he was gone, Gustavus said aloud to Desprez, "Which of us has the best of the bargain? I have created him a knight of Vasa, the insignia of which cost me about a ducat, and I have received a present of a vessel that cost the projector many thousand dollars, but will never be any use to me, or any one else." The chagrin of the disappointed speculator, who had flattered himself with the hope of being appointed master builder to the Swedish navy, may easily be conceived. In 1808, the author saw the wreck of this ship, the timbers of which had almost perished where she lay, near the south end of Skibbsholm Bridge, and it was still distinguished by the appellation of *the sea monster*.

The almost childish attachment of Gustavus to etiquette, is notorious: he carried his claim of homage so far, that when he was in the great palace, he ordered every citizen, mechanic, &c. to pull off their hats as they walked across the quadrangle; and every time he passed through the city, foot passengers were required to take off their hats; and even the first nobility were expected to alight from their carriages, without regard to age or the state of the weather. It happened one day that the king's carriage being seen at a distance by Count Wachtmeister, he prepared to alight, but being corpulent, he backed

out. Meantime, the king wishing to speak to him, ordered his coachman to stop opposite to the count's carriage: the king, with his usual rapidity, began speaking to the count, but to his no small surprise, instead of his face, he saw only his stern. The count was, however, not long reaching the ground; and turning to the king, entreated him to pardon the infirmities of an old man, who was anxious to shew his sovereign every proper respect. "Your lordship has shewn me *more* than I desired to behold," said the king:—soon afterwards an order was sent to the count, by which he was in future to be excused from this humiliating homage. But the count would not avail himself of his exception, telling the king it would expose him to malevolent remarks; upon which Gustavus relinquished the degrading and ridiculous homage.

GUSTAVUS IV. ADOLPHUS.

CHAP. V.

The governess and physician; or difference of opinion.—Governors and tutors.—Intolerant principles early inculcated.—Bigotry, political and religious.—Machinations of General Baron Armfelt.—The wise government of the regent.—Retrenchment and reform.—The flight, trial, conviction, and outlawry, of General Baron Armfelt.—Russian political intrigues and intriguers.—Imperial Russian gallantry.—A royal tour.—The king and regent at Petersburg.—A state secret.—Plots and counter-plots.—Firmness of the young king.—A disappointed bride.—The royal strangers return to Sweden.—Comparison between the policy of Catherine the Second and the ex-Emperor of the French.—Expiration of the regency.—The recall of Armfelt, and change of system at court.

THE extraordinary circumstances connected with the parentage of this prince,—the catastrophe that occurred at his baptism; and the manner in which he was educated, and exhibited, have already been noticed. It was remarked in his childhood,

that he was the very picture of the queen; as he grew up to manhood, he became very proud of his resemblance to Charles the XIIth, which might as well be imputed to the lineage of his mother as of his father, both being descended from the princess Catherine, sister to the great Gustavus Adolphus, and great-grandmother to Charles.

To the Countess Rosen was entrusted the care of this prince in his first years. She was involved in frequent and ludicrous disputes with the physician appointed by the king, who replied to the complaints of the countess that the poor child was chilled, and his flesh turned black and blue from incessant and frequent immersions in cold water, by telling her that the only way the child could recover vital warmth was to continue the use of the cold bath! Doctor Sangrado said it was the want of bleeding and warm water that occasioned the death of all his patients; the Swedish physician had the same reverence for *cold* water, which he observed could do nothing but good! At last, however, the probability of the boy losing the use of his limbs became so great, that the physician was forced to relinquish the process; and the child, as if to mortify his tormentor, rapidly increased in strength and stature.

Baron Frederick Sparre* was selected by the king as the governor of this prince: he was ele-

* It was an ancestor of this nobleman who saved Gustavus, the son of Eric the XIVth, from being murdered in his infancy, by

vated to the rank of senator, and then entered upon his office, for which he might possess every requisite quality; but his best recommendation to the king, was his implicit obedience to his majesty's *prescriptions*, who paid the most minute attention, not only to the education of the child, but to his food, and bodily health. Baron Sparre maintained himself in this post several years. When the king announced his intention of going to Finland,* in 1787, and taking young Gustavus with him, Baron Sparre felt himself aggrieved,

order of his uncle, King John. This child was born in 1568, a few months prior to the deposition of his unhappy father, whose affection for this child and his mother, induced him, at that early age, to procure him to be acknowledged successor to the throne. When the deposed king was ordered to be sent off to Abo, to be there confined, Gustavus was taken from his wretched mother, bound with chains, put into a leathern sack, and ordered to be thrown into the Mälar lake, not far from the palace wherein he was born. An officer belonging to the court was charged with this horrid murder. He went before day-break to fulfil the king's commands; but being observed by a nobleman named Sparre, and closely questioned, he owned that the sack contained the late intended heir to the Swedish crown. The child thus rescued, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends and adherents of his father: he received a wandering education, and became highly distinguished by his talents, learning, and polite acquirements. An affecting narrative of the sufferings of Eric the Fourteenth, and this child, has been given by the Rev. Mr. Coxe, vol. iv. chap. 9, p. 256, &c.

* Amongst the MSS. formerly preserved in the library at Drottningholm, is a journal of this tour to Finland, which took place in 1787, written by the crown prince. He was only nine years old at the period. When the author was there, he asked for the journal, but the wachtmeister (attendant), said the king had taken it into his

affirming, it was his duty to go every where with his royal pupil. The king haughtily replied, that on this occasion he should fill the governor's place, and hoped he was as well able, as *entitled* to perform its functions. The baron being offended, was bold enough to enter a protest in the journals of the senate, which the king caused to be expunged. The baron then desired to be dismissed from his attendance on the crown prince, which the king refused. The following year Count Gyllenstolpe was nominated governor to the crown prince, instead of Baron Sparre. The literary part of the education of the young prince was entrusted to M. Rosenstein, the nephew of Count Hermansen, who had so considerable a share in helping the king to effect the revolution of 1772. M. Rosenstein was, however, no less indebted to his own talents and good fortune for his advancement; for he was the chief instrument through whose agency those extraordinary arrangements were made in 1777, between the king and queen, to which, in the following year, the crown prince owed his existence. M. Rosenstein had given such striking proofs of talent, or he was so much favoured by the king, that Count Hoepken,* a senator, proposed him as

own possession. It might have been wholly written by the prince at the time alluded to;—but the composition more probably was by M. Rosenstein. It was, without doubt, a literary curiosity.

* The Countess Hoepken was reckoned almost the first of the court beauties. When Sergell, the great sculptor, executed those exquisite pieces, the Apollo, and Venus de Belles Fesses, which

secretary to the academy of belles lettres. His character for abilities rising rapidly, sanctioned the king's choice, by whom he was appointed counsellor in the king's chancery, and decorated with the order of the polar star: honors which were the forerunners of others still greater.

Colonel Baron Wachtmeister was appointed as companion and attendant on the crown prince; but he was so offended at the outrage committed by the king in arresting Count Fersen, in 1790, that he desired to be permitted to resign, not only his situation about the person of the prince, but also the regiment which he commanded. The king strove to induce him to retain his employments, but the baron urged, with so much earnestness, the reasons which compelled him to persist in his determination to retire altogether from court, that Gustavus the Third with some warmth exclaimed, "*I think you would convince me that I ought also to resign.*"

Count Bonde* was placed by Gustavus the Third near the person of the prince; he was

were placed in the saloon of pillars in the palace of Stockholm, by Gustavus the Third, he took a model of the countess's face to serve for his statue.

* The noble family of BONDE is one of the most ancient and illustrious in Sweden. According to Mr. Ristel, from whose volumes these facts are principally derived, it had produced five kings, and fifteen senators in succession! It was in the hotel of the chief of this family that the Great, or *Stora Societet* was held in Stockholm in 1808. The countess was a most beautiful woman, but very strange rumours were afloat respecting the count, which, for the sake of human nature, it is to be hoped were founded in error.

also a favorite of the king; and this nobleman was either associated with, or followed by General Baron Armfelt, one of the lords of the bed-chamber; to whose pernicious influence many of the worst errors of the young prince might justly be imputed that rendered his future life miserable, and his reign inglorious.

The most exaggerated rumours were spread abroad by the agents of the king, or by foreigners, extolling the wonderful accomplishments and talents of the crown prince, reports which were, in some measure, countenanced by the heads of the university of Upsala, who *solicited* the king to permit that grave and learned body to elect as their chancellor a boy twelve years of age! On this occasion the king went in very great state * to Upsala with his pseudo son, where he remained near two months, using all his endeavours to confer importance on the heir to his crown, and make him familiar with the principal youths of Sweden.

The principles inculcated were calculated to fill his young mind with the most exalted ideas of his own importance; and to teach him to believe that Providence had placed a nation at his disposal, over whom he was born to rule, and from whom he would be entitled to implicit and passive obedience. His religious preceptors were equally

* The crown prince, OSCAR, the son of Charles the Fourteenth, John, has probably been elected chancellor of that university; and no doubt the venerable sages will find the most brilliant promise of future greatness in the royal youth; and, perhaps, with less duplicity than as regarded Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus.

assiduous to convince him that there was no salvation of souls out of the pale of the Lutheran church. He was taught to believe in the right divine of kings; and being particularly struck with the prophet Daniel's visions of the four beasts, the seven seals, the seven angels with seven trumpets, the beast with seven heads, and other divine mysteries, he took more pleasure in fruitless endeavours to unravel them, than in studies better adapted to form a wise and useful monarch. To this infusion of kingly pride on the one hand, and enthusiastic devotion to religious and mystical symbols on the other, is to be imputed the extravagant follies into which he ran, when, believing himself to possess the power of prophet, priest, and king, he proved his incapacity to steer the vessel of state amidst the hurricanes that prevailed, and compelled those to draw their swords against him, who would otherwise have bravely defended his throne, and readily sacrificed their lives in his service.

The influence of General Armfelt and his associates, impressed the young prince with a very unfavourable opinion of the duke, his supposed uncle. When Gustavus the Third was assassinated, the young prince, who was just turned fourteen, was inconsolable. He strove to force his way to the chamber where lay the wounded king, towards whom he felt a much stronger attachment than to her who was really his parent. He was taught to consider the French nation as the accursed of God—as the beast foretold by Daniel—as the scarlet whore mentioned in the Revelations; and his

feeble judgment, thus artfully misled, made him regard as a monster every one who was denounced to him as being a jacobin. When Gustavus the Third was shot by Ankarstrom, his pseudo son was taught to believe that the assassin was instigated by the atheistical French: and as the duke was known to be averse to the war which his brother was on the point of commencing, it was no very difficult task for General Baron Armfelt to poison his mind by insinuating that the same influence which had contaminated Ankarstrom, and caused the assassination of his father, had reached the duke, who might next remove, by murdering his nephew, the only obstacle that opposed his ascending the throne. The artful traitor went farther, insinuating that except himself, and his partisans, the young monarch had no sincere adherents in Sweden: and, as the empress Catherine stood committed with France, her power and her policy would counteract that of the regent, in case of the latter endeavouring to form a league against the king, with the rulers of France. By these dark and foul insinuations the judgment of the youthful king was warped and his thoughts bewildered: he was led to cherish feelings of suspicion and even hatred against his best and truest friends, and to regard with esteem the suborned agents of that wicked woman, to whose machinations the death of Gustavus might, with more justice, have been attributed, than to the influence of French principles or of French gold. This was the beginning

of those plots, hatched and matured by Armfelt, which aimed at accomplishing the death of the regent; to throw the king into the arms of Russia, and reduce Sweden to the state of a Russian province. The bosom of Gustavus the Fourth was thus filled with alarm and mistrust; and he was led to believe the most profound dissimulation was necessary to preserve his life. Whilst in his heart he feared and detested the regent, he shewed him every outward mark of profound homage; and whilst he secretly encouraged Armfelt in his plots against the regent, he assumed as great an appearance of respect towards that prince, as if he had revered him as his parent. By these practices the youthful monarch was initiated into a maze of falsehoods and error, and taught to believe that treachery was a virtue: he had also been instructed that laughing and playfulness did not become one born to rule over nations; thus constraint and duplicity, even in his youth, became habitual: he was generally very grave, and often melancholy.

No sooner was the regency fully established, than reduction and retrenchment took place in every department of the state, and those absurd edicts issued by his unfortunate brother, forbidding the people from talking of French politics, were recalled. The immense palace building at Haga, that would have required two millions sterling to have completed and furnished; as well as other works of magnificence, were instantly laid

aside, and the fine arts drooped in Sweden the moment their splendid patron was dead. The stones, bricks, and other materials that had been accumulating for years to build the palace, were, by order of the duke, applied to complete the war academy for military cadets, which institution, instead of Ulricsdal, was finally established at the Carlberg palace, about two miles north of Stockholm, where it yet exists.

Sweden soon felt the benefit of the wise government of the regent, although the deep wounds inflicted by the late king's profusion, and an expensive war, were not easily healed. The good sense and moderation displayed by Prince Charles, had a more powerful effect in checking the revolutionary spirit that was abroad, than coercive measures; but the tide of popular discontent ran high, and serious fears were entertained lest the army with which Gustavus the Third hoped to have restored the ancient despotism of the French monarchy, might overturn the throne of Sweden. The Empress Catherine was secretly chagrined on beholding the wisdom of Charles so likely to repair the mischief occasioned by the rashness and folly of Gustavus; and she used very unbecoming means to intimidate the regent, and divert him from the neutrality he had determined to observe.

In the year 1792, there were two parties in Sweden actively at work: the one was composed of General Baron Armfelt and his partisans, whose

object was to throw Sweden into the grasp of Russia; the other consisted of men more formidable by their talents than numbers, who conceived that Sweden was too poor a country to support a monarchical government and a large standing army. They were for adopting a government similar to that established in the United States, and to endeavour to do without a king, or hereditary nobles. A gentleman named Thorild, wrote a work entitled "*The Liberty of Reason developed to the Regent and the Swedish nation.*" The author addressed it to the regent, and called upon him to remove the shackles imposed by kings and oligarchs on human freedom, and dwelt with enthusiasm on the happiness Sweden might enjoy under a virtuous and frugal republican system. This happened on the 21st of December: in the evening, the pamphlet was suppressed, and the author taken into custody. The sensation produced by this step was such that a formidable insurrection was expected, and it was written on the walls, and openly avowed by the disaffected, that another Ankarstrom was wanting to cut off another tyrant. Nothing could be more irrational than such clamour, for the regent had restored comparative freedom of writing and of speech; and had introduced economy in the place of profusion. To calm this ferment, the government ordered the case to be decided on immediately. The next day the cause was heard: the burghers insisted that the doors of the court of justice should be thrown

open, and the proceedings public. The prisoner conducted his own case, and defended himself with so much spirit and eloquence, that the spectators caught the enthusiasm inspired by his bold sentiments, and loudly applauded certain passages in his speech. He was released, and on his return a large concourse of citizens followed his carriage shouting, *Liberty for ever! Thorild for ever!* These popular movements indicated a powerful and growing spirit of resistance to the government of kings and nobles, and had a proportionate effect on the councils of the regent, whose moderation and gentleness assuaged the rising storm, and averted a serious danger that threatened the existence of the monarchy.

When Great Britain and France were involved in hostilities, the neutrality of Sweden promised a golden harvest to her merchants and shipowners. The empress spared neither threats nor bribes to induce the crown prince of Denmark, and the regent of Sweden, to take part in the coalition formed against France; instead of which, very early the following year, Sweden and Denmark formed a convention for the mutual protection of their commerce and navigation.

The celebrated Count Stackelberg, who had acted so conspicuous a part in effecting the destruction of Poland, was sent to Stockholm; where, assisted by General Baron Armfelt and his numerous partisans, those plots were matured, that continued to agitate Sweden during the mi-

nority of the king. One great object Catherine had in view by those plots, was to effect a marriage between Gustavus and her grand-daughter, Alexandra Paulowna. The regent opposed that design, and strove to direct the views of the young prince to a different quarter. This exasperated Catherine, and made her more than ever determined, by force or fraud, to carry her object. Baron Armfelt and his partisans, influenced by her gold, which was administered profusely, undertook to remove the regent; to form a government composed of persons devoted to the empress, and to cause the young king to marry the daughter of the Grand Duke Paul. In the course of the scandalous cabals thus created, the traces of Russian influence were so strong, and the regent made such spirited remonstrances to the empress, that Count Stackelberg was recalled, and Count Romanzof sent to succeed him. Although the men were changed, the same objects were pursued, and by the same means. The plots of Armfelt were aided and abetted by Count Romanzof, as they had been by his predecessor. The regent complained of this violation of amity; and the detection of Armfelt's conspiracy, left the empress no subterfuge to avoid Romanzof's recall. The young king gave Armfelt notice of his danger. The traitor effected his escape * from Sweden,

* In August, 1808, the author spent some days very agreeably at *Gustafswik*, the seat of Sir Charles Axel Lindroth, K. P. S. He heard much of General Baron Armfelt, to whom Sir Charles

as also many of his partisans: but they were proceeded against, and convicted, on the clearest possible evidence, of aiming at the subversion of the government and the murder of the regent.

and his family seemed much attached. Gustavus the Third, in 1788, paid them a visit, and was no less indebted to the loyalty of Sir Charles, in raising his tenantry to help repel the Danes, than for the kind and plenteous manner in which he was entertained, together with a numerous suite of officers and attendants. Previous to this period, the venerable seat was called *Westerwik*, but at the request of the king its name was changed to Gustafswik. They spoke of Armfelt as one of the best of men. He was just then dismissed from the command of the western army, and had retired to his estates by order of Gustavus the Fourth. Sir Charles seemed rather disposed to question the king's understanding than the loyalty of the disgraced favourite. This gentleman was himself an honourable and benevolent man; and his purity of heart perhaps led him to impute the ill spoken of General Armfelt, to party rancour. Living remote from the court, in the midst of ample estates, and a happy and prosperous tenantry, Sir Charles Lindroth reminded Mr. Brown of the patriarchial manner in which the chiefs of ancient and opulent families used to live in England. Except that he was no friend to land monopoly, nor large farms, he might with propriety be termed the Mr. Coke of Sweden, for he was the greatest improver of agriculture in all the country. But he was surrounded by a numerous race of sturdy and happy peasants, to whom he let his lands in small farms, on terms so easy that they paid their rents without difficulty: and by the excellent mode of cultivation he taught them, they grew comparatively rich, whilst the value of his land increased with equal rapidity. The eldest daughter of Sir Charles and Lady Lindroth was married to a Colonel De Le Grange, who was descended from an ancient and noble Scotch family, that migrated to Sweden in the disastrous reign of Queen Mary. The colonel was then a prisoner in Paris, on parole, having been taken prisoner in Pomerania. He was sent to Paris in 1809, by Charles the Thirteenth, with the news of the revolution in Sweden.

Sentence of death was pronounced against the chief conspirator, General Baron Armfelt; his estates were forfeited, and a board was placed under the public pillory and whipping post in Stockholm,* whereon his name, titles, crimes, &c. were inscribed. About this degradation the callous intriguer is said to have cared but little; and, after a variety of adventures, he made his way to Russia, where he was well received, and a handsome pension was allowed him. It was in vain the regent demanded the culprit from the different courts where the traitor dared to shew himself. The demands of the regent were evaded, and his ministers insulted, because the insidious Armfelt had every where represented him as a jacobin, as a second Duke of Orleans, as the enemy

* The place where the public whipping-post and pillory stand is in Normalm, called Ho Torget. Upon the top of the pillar stands a coarse figure, representing Justice, her eyes bandaged, and having the usual attributes. To this pillar are appended the massive chain and ring already described: the names of persons convicted of infamous crimes, who have been here exhibited or outlawed, are inscribed on boards nailed to the pillar. The name of SPRENGPORTEN was set up by Gustavus the Third, in 1789, and it remained there in 1808. ARMFELT'S name and crime was placed next; but in 1796 it was removed by Gustavus the Fourth; and it was remarked to the author, by a Swedish nobleman, that if the young king had dared, he would have exhibited that of the regent in the same place! Any person on being thus punished for swindling or cheating, has his name and offence also inscribed, and the date when his person was exhibited under the pillory with the iron collar round his neck.

of *regular governments*, and the secret friend and abettor of the revolutionists of France.

After the flight of Armfelt, papers were found proving that he had strove all he could to persuade the king to make a voyage towards the gulph of Finland, in order that a Russian frigate in waiting might, upon a signal previously agreed on, receive the young monarch, and convey him to Petersburg; but Gustavus was much too timid for such an enterprize, and he recommended Armfelt to take care of himself till he (the king) had attained his majority; "when," said he, "the authority of my uncle will cease, and I shall have it in my power to protect and reward the best and truest friend my father ever had." Such were the delusions practised on the young king,—such their calamitous effects!—And never was a sovereign prince more insulted and provoked by internal treachery and foreign influence, than the late King of Sweden during the time that he was regent.

To cut off all hope that Catherine might yet entertain of enslaving Sweden, by means of a marriage between Gustavus the Fourth and her grand-daughter, the regent negociated a marriage between the young monarch and a princess of Mecklenburg: they were solemnly affianced, and the approaching nuptials announced to all the courts of Europe. Count Schwerin was selected by the regent to carry the unwelcome news to the empress; but, such were her rage and indiscretion, that she sent orders to the governor of

Wiborg not to suffer the noble missionary to proceed!—Totally losing sight of that sagacity which had so long distinguished her public conduct, the empress, in a most extraordinary note, which attracted the attention of all Europe, not only reproached the regent of Sweden with being secretly connected with the regicides of France, but even insinuated that he had been *privy* to the assassination of his brother! A charge that was probably grounded in the malice of Armfelt, by whose partisans it was propagated; and, as if Catherine thought the *purity* of her hands from blood shed by assassins, had *never* been questioned, she ludicrously assumed the right of avenging the death of Gustavus the Third!

It filled her vindictive bosom with rage and disdain, to think that an obscure princess of a petty house, should be preferred to her granddaughter. She sent agents to Mecklenburg, who bribed or intimidated so effectually, that the princess formally relinquished the alliance, and notified the same to the regent. Whilst these base manœuvres were played off in Germany to prevent the intended marriage, preparations were made at Petersburg, indicative of an immediate war against '*the Regent*' of Sweden; both planks and straw were laid across the Neva, as if it were for the more secure transport of artillery into Finland; and Prince George Dolgorucky was sent to the frontiers as if to reconnoitre. A crowd of needy Swedish noblemen and courtiers, who had long

fattened on the public revenue under the late king, were ready for any enterprise that promised wealth and preferment: these became the willing instruments of Armfelt, whose influence was secretly increased by the known attachment of the young king. Thus was the kingdom filled with the foulest of insinuations. They represented the young monarch as being violently enamoured of the fair Alexandra, and about to be sacrificed by his unfeeling and remorseless uncle, whose impatience to enforce this marriage was such that he had not the decency to wait till the king, his master, became of age; because, as they pretended, the regent knew, that the king, if left to himself, would declare in favour of Alexandra! The countess of Lieven was governess to this young princess; and through her agency, in conjunction with General Armfelt, Counts Schwerin, Steinbok, and other Swedes of distinction, a correspondence is said to have been kept up between the lovers. The letters were shewn to the empress, who was so set upon this match that it was evident she would carry her point, if possible, indifferent by what means. Amidst this complicated machinery, M. Budberg, who had recently been to Germany, and carried back in his train to Petersburg, the princess of Saxe Cobourg* and her three daughters, for the inspection of the Grand Duke Constantine, was sent to Stockholm. This minister had in

* The mother of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg.

his pay some very able auxiliaries, by whom his views were powerfully assisted. Monsieur Christine, a German, who had formerly been secretary to M. de Calonne, served M. Budberg as a secret agent. This gentleman paid court to the regent; and seized every opportunity of praising the beauty of the princess Alexandra; the good will borne towards his highness by the empress; whose anger, he said, had been occasioned by the sorrow she felt for her grand-daughter, whose affections were so completely engaged; and that all the empress wanted was, to have the marriage of the king deferred till after he became of age, that he might then decide for himself.

Thus beset at home and abroad, and fearful, if he persisted, that the empress would make war on Sweden, and too probably cause internal commotions; whereby she might acquire the same ascendancy she had obtained in Poland, he bethought himself of a stratagem by which he might avert the coming storm, and yet prevent a marriage taking place, that he could not contemplate without the most serious apprehensions of its giving Russia such additional means of increasing its influence in Sweden, as must soon reduce the kingdom to the condition of a province. He, therefore, listened with assumed complacency to the eulogiums pronounced by M. Christine on the Princess Alexandra; and the general deportment of the regent was such, as induced this secret agent of Russia to believe that he was intimidated by

the powerful and combined operations carried on against him, and inclined to capitulate. Dispatches were immediately sent off by M. Budberg to the empress, and by M. Christine to Madame Russ, the mistress of Count Markof; shortly after which the negociations that had been broken off, were resumed; and to the astonishment of all who had attended to these movements, the regent not only permitted the young monarch to accept Catherine's invitation to visit Petersburg, but, what was less expected and desirable, he even proposed to accompany him thither! No one was puzzled more than General Baron Armfelt, nor was any equally mortified, for he was afraid the regent was about to make his peace with Catherine in good earnest; and apprehensive the superior rank and importance of that prince might induce the Empress Catharine to banish him from her residence.

The regent of Sweden, the young king, and a numerous and splendid suite, arrived at Petersburg, on the 25th of August, 1796, and went to reside at the hotel of General Baron Stedingk. Passing by the costly and brilliant festivities that followed, during the stay of the illustrious Swedes (the description of which are to be found in other works), suffice it to state, that the 21st of September was appointed for the marriage of the king of Sweden with the fair Alexandra; and that day to which she looked forward as the proudest of her life, proved the reverse of her expectations, blasted

all her mighty projects, and gave her pride so violent a shock, that it affected her frame to a degree which accelerated her death. And all this was the work of the regent of Sweden! a man whom she had so often ridiculed, and so thoroughly despised; and whom she erroneously supposed had been bent to her purpose by intimidation. The fact is, that the regent finding it would be impossible to avoid a rupture with Russia if he did not appear to yield; and not being satisfied with the government of France, which had artfully deceived him respecting the subsidy promised by the committee of public safety; and to avoid plunging Sweden into a war that he knew the king would terminate as soon as his minority expired, and perhaps on terms of lasting injury to Sweden, the regent wisely resolved '*to stoop to conquer*,' and, if possible, outwit the sagacious MINERVA of the north.

The extreme tenacity of the young Swedish monarch on matters of religion, and his stubborn and intractable disposition, were well known to the regent. Gustavus looked on the Greek church as being more radically corrupt and inconsistent with Christianity than the Catholic; and the regent found means to influence his religious preceptor, who omitted no opportunity of instilling into his bosom new sources of aversion towards the Greek religion: and when the royal guests had arrived at Petersburg, the gross ignorance and superstition of the common people were

so palpable and disgusting, that it completed the aversion of the young king, which was the sheet anchor on which the regent depended to keep Sweden clear of the connexion he so much dreaded.* Nor were his calculations made on a false principle.

* This curious fact was communicated to the author when he was on a visit to Sir Herman af Lastbohm, K. P. S. at Niklasdam, near Christinehamn, on the 2d of August, 1808. This nobleman was one of Armfelt's most active and daring partizans, and, of course, a violent enemy to the regent and his ministers. When General Armfelt fled, aud his papers were seized, a great number of his creatures were exposed and implicated. Sir Herman af Lastbohm then stood in that predicament. To get rid of his presence in Stockholm, the regent nominated him to the government of a remote and petty fort in Finland. Sir Herman understood that if he retired to his estate, and no more interfered with political matters, he need not go into banishment; for such the appointment was considered. With this injunction he readily complied. When the king had attained his majority, and General Baron Armfelt was recalled, the duke was driven from the political theatre, and his enemies appeared at the court of Sweden, decorated with honors, and invested with the first offices in the state. Sir Herman af Lastbohm was not forgotten; he was made a knight of the order of the polar star, ennobled and invested with many valuable employments. In 1808, the period treated of, he was president of the Kamar Collegium, and a member of the supreme court of justice in Sweden, of which the king himself was the president. Whatever might have been his political errors, nothing could exceed his hospitality. In the church of Christinehamn was a large altar-piece, given by one of his ancestors, an iron-master, or bruks-patron. Neither the drawing nor the colouring were very excellent: the subject was the Last Supper; the principal dish was *a roasted pig*, at which most of the apostles seemed to cast a wishful eye: they were all fair complexioned, with red hair, except Judas; who was drawn of a swarthy complexion, with his hair and beard both black.

The young king, delighted with the respect shewn to his will by the regent, used frequently to traverse with him the city on foot and *incog.* attended only by a confidential servant of the ambassador, (Baron Stedingk) who, on these occasions, acted as their valet-de-place. During these excursions the duke took care that the king should have an opportunity of witnessing some of the most disgusting examples of the idolatrous worship of the Greek church, and the gross ignorance and superstition of the Russians. The beauty of the Princess Alexandra Paulowna was of that fresh, youthful, and rosy kind, it was scarcely possible for any man to behold her without emotion; and the regent, who had all his life been a votary of sensual pleasure, spoke in rapture of her charms. The youthful king must have had a heart cold as marble not to have been captivated. The boy was amorous, and the beauteous Alexandra, kind, but Gustavus told his nominal uncle, he was afraid *her religion* would be an insuperable bar to their happiness. The regent heard him make this avowal with secret delight; all he said in reply was, that it was a point on which Gustavus had best consult his own judgment; knowing, if he had attempted to advise him against the marriage, it would possibly instigate him to its immediate completion.

The princess was at this time turned fourteen; she was a fine, plump, well grown girl, tall and womanly; her features were regular, her

complexion fair and blooming; her light flaxen tresses were as tastefully arranged as if Venus had been her handmaid. She had, during the last four years, heard so much of the young king of Sweden, that she had literally fallen in love with his pictures: his presence completed the conquest. Gustavus, if not as beautiful as an Adonis, was, at the age of seventeen, a handsome and elegant young man; rather tall in stature, and of an uncommon degree of gravity and grandeur in his carriage.

To excite desire in their youthful bosoms, the crafty old empress, called on Gustavus to impress on the virgin lips of her lovely and blushing child, a kiss of love; and she also caused them to be left alone that their mutual affections might be cherished and strengthened, little thinking how terrible a blow she was preparing for the innocent girl whose growing passions were so soon to be chilled and blasted. Catherine was unworthy of pity or respect; and it is to be regretted that all the suffering did not alight where all the guilt reposed. The fond girl thought herself the happiest of mortals, and strove to perfect her knowlege of the Swedish tongue, to render herself more agreeable to her future subjects, and had no suspicion of any disappointment, till the sad reverse burst suddenly upon her when she was arrayed in her bridal robes, and expecting, with a palpitating heart, her tardy lover at the altar!

The sagacious Catherine would not be per-

suaded that the sudden complacency of the Swedish regent was not assumed to neutralise her anger, and yet frustrate her plans. Her shrewd and penetrating mind soon discovered the sunken rock on which all those hopes might yet be wrecked. To be beforehand with the duke, and, if possible, beat him with his own weapon, she secretly enquired of the clerical chief of the Russian church, whether, for an object of the highest moment to the state, her grand-daughter might not *abjure* the Greek church, and outwardly profess that of the Lutheran? The chief priest, having sounded his brethren, and found them hostile to the proposed apostacy, bent his knee, bowed his head, and meekly said—"*Your majesty is all-powerful.*" The Swedish regent had played his cards admirably: he perfectly understood the nature of Catherine's religious creed, which was always made to give way to her inclinations; and he therefore caused his emissaries to raise a report, that the king of Sweden would not deign to marry a Russian princess till she should formally have renounced the Greek religion. It was this rumour which counteracted the last hope of the empress; for if she had persisted, it would have set the priesthood in arms, and might have given rise to schisms fatal to the internal repose of her mighty empire.

General Baron Armfelt, though thrown into the back ground, and not allowed to appear at court, was not idle. He had private communica-

tion with the king, to whom he insinuated that the regent, under the pretext of forwarding his majesty's interest, was secretly endeavouring to gain the confidence and goodwill of Catherine, that he might obtain the grand duchy of Finland during his life; intimating, that the only certain method of defeating his selfish views would be to act liberally towards his intended bride, and if his majesty wished totally to frustrate the designs of the regent, his readiest way would be to allow the princess to retain her faith. The king was not pleased with this counsel, and when next he saw the regent, looking steadily in his face, asked him what would be the effect of making a princess of the Greek church, queen of Sweden? "An insurrection, my king, and the loss of three crowns!" This laconic answer staggered his prejudices, for it struck him if the regent harboured the ambitious views imputed to him by Armfelt, he would not oppose any measure calculated to forward his selfish designs. Thus was the mind of the young monarch perplexed and bewildered; sometimes he was inclined to sacrifice his zeal for religion to his passion for Alexandra; at others to renounce her, all beautiful as she was, unless she totally abandoned the Greek church, and adopted the faith taught by Luther.

Meantime, General Baron Stedingk, the Swedish ambassador, at an audience granted for that purpose, formally demanded the lovely young creature in the name of his monarch; and the 21st of

September was appointed for the performance of the marriage ceremony.

A more lovely, or a more splendid object was never beheld than Alexandra Paulowna, arrayed in her bridal robes. She was surrounded by all that was great and imposing in the Russian court. The empress, the grand duke Paul, and his consort; their children, with their numerous and gorgeous train, were all assembled in their grandest state dresses: and the fee-simple of the nation over which the young bride expected to be the queen, would scarcely have produced a mass of wealth, if put up to sale, equal in value to the gold and gems displayed that day. The young monarch was arrayed with great pomp, as well as the regent, and their numerous suite. The minute arrived when the king of Sweden should have appeared; but he came not. Notwithstanding the rouge on the wrinkled brows of the aged Catherine, consternation and dismay were visibly pourtrayed. Her favorite, prince Zubof, appeared, whispered to his sovereign, and again departed; presently he returned, and as quickly made his exit. It could not be concealed from the young bride that something went wrong; and she was too young and too deeply affected, to conceal the emotions that arose in her troubled mind. The empress seemed scarcely able to restrain the rage that flashed in her eyes, and swelled her indignant bosom. Hour after hour passed away, whilst the trembling bride, and her august relations, impa-

tiently waited, from seven o'clock till ten, when the Russian ministers, in a manner petrified with amazement and terror, were forced to announce to the empress, that the king of Sweden had peremptorily refused to sign the contracts laid before him, and had actually retired to his apartment!

Never was Catherine so completely overwhelmed with rage, shame, and grief. The intensity of her feelings, and the necessity of restraining them, produced a slight stroke of apoplexy. Every limb shook, and her face underwent sudden and violent convulsive changes. When able to rise she could not speak, and was led, or rather carried, from the astonished crowd of nobles to her boudoir, where she gave vent in tears and sobs to the pent-up passion that had like to have snapt the thread of life in twain.

As to the beauteous and weeping bride, no pen can describe her sorrows. When her splendid garments were being taken off, she hid her face in the bosom of her favorite governess, Mademoiselle Villarof, and their tears were mingled together: but soon that relief was denied, her tears ceased to flow; convulsed fits of horrible laughter succeeded; the court physicians were called in, and all that night the afflicted princess fell from one hysterical fit into another, so that equal and serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of her life, and of her intellects.

The mental sufferings of the empress were acute, and their effects, in a few weeks afterwards,

ended her life; but they were richly merited, and she deserved no commiseration.

The immediate cause of all this confusion arose from a gross deception attempted on the part of the Russian ministers, who interpolated into the marriage contract conditions * different from those acceded to by the king of Sweden. The Russian ministers thought, by delaying the documents to the last moment, the young king could never have patience to read them deliberately; but they were mistaken: Gustavus perused them with as much gravity as if he had been a judge. When he came to the clause whereby the Princess Alexandra, when queen of Sweden, was to be allowed the public exercise of the Greek faith, he turned towards Markoff and said, "Was this inserted by order of the empress?" who, answering in the affirmative, the king said in a firm, resolute tone, "I never agreed to this, and I will not sign it." It was in vain that the great officers of the empire told him the empress and his bride were in waiting. Besborodko, Markoff, Zubof, successively urged and entreated the king to sign: he had taken the advice of his ghostly director, Doctor Fleming, who was a high Lutheran, and foretold the complete destruction

* The chief of these conditions were, that the princess should have a Greek chapel and Greek clergy in the palace, and that the king should immediately declare war against the French republic: the first interpolation arose from the command of Catherine, and the second more immediately from the management of General Baron Armfelt.

of the reformed church in Sweden, if such an abomination were suffered; the priests of the Greek church were no less peremptory against the least concession; and this clashing of prejudices produced the exact effect that the regent intended and anticipated.

The young king deserved great credit for the stand he made; for he could not yield without compromising his own honor, and that of his kingdom. The regent walked aside with Gustavus, and apparently, by his looks and gesture, was using entreaties; but to what purpose can only be conjectured. Meantime all the Swedish nobles joined in the most pressing solicitations that the king would not break off the marriage; but he turned a deaf ear to their supplications, exclaiming, "I cannot, and I never will sign these papers:—I will not do any thing contrary to the laws of Sweden."

Thus, through the secret agency of the regent of Sweden, was this match broke off, through which Catherine the Second hoped to have acquired that preponderating influence in Sweden, that should soon add those realms to the Russian empire.

Within a day or two of these extraordinary events, the birth day of the Grand-duchess Anna Feodorowna, the wife of the Grand-duke Constantine occurred, when a grand ball was announced; the empress was there also, and the young king, who paid her the most marked respect, which the imperious woman did not deign to

return by the slightest act of courtesy. The regent did not shew himself; and as to the princess, she was too ill to appear—her heart was almost broke. Gustavus probably felt more affection for her than towards any other object, but he was much less affected:—he danced with the princesses of the imperial house, conversed with the Grand-duke Alexander, and retired at an early hour from an assembly where constraint was visible in every countenance, and no one seemed at ease. The empress did not stay five minutes in the ball room; and the favourites', and ministers' looks, which were sullen and resentful, shewed how deeply the resolution of a mere boy had wounded their pride, and humbled their ideas of self-importance. When Gustavus withdrew, he was more than commonly ceremonious, bowing to the principal personages, by way of bidding them adieu. This was the last time Gustavus the Fourth appeared at the splendid court of Catherine the Second. He saw her afterwards in private; and attempts were made to renew the negociation, which Gustavus artfully eluded, by proposing to refer the question to the diet that was to be assembled when he came of age; declaring, his readiness to marry Alexandra, if the four estates of Sweden consented to permit a queen of Sweden to profess the Greek religion!—The autocratix heard these expressions with disdain; believing, and perhaps with truth, they were intended only as a feint to cover his fixed

resolution never to accede: she told him, if that were his only objection, to call the diet immediately, and she would order an army to assemble, competent to enforce obedience if his subjects rebelled.

The regent and king of Sweden made preparations for leaving Petersburg; and magnificent presents were interchanged, and bestowed on the respective courtiers of either court; those of Sweden were remarked for their magnificence and value, which was owing to the regent, for the young king had already given decided proofs of being of a niggardly and parsimonious turn.

The regent visited the grand duke Paul* at Gatschina: the latter, was not over polite to the former; and for once in his life he seemed to coincide with the public policy of his mother, and to manifest the most glowing zeal for the interests of the Greek church. It is, however, by no

* It was confidently asserted at Stockholm by persons connected with the court in the spring of 1808, that the reason of the dislike expressed by Catherine the Second towards the grand duke Paul, was, because he was not her son! It was pretended that Catherine's son, died very young of the small pox; that his death was concealed, and a child, of the same age, taken by chance from an orphan house, substituted instead. There was preserved in the anatomy figure room of the royal academy, the anatomy of a murderer whose skull and features bore a remarkably strong resemblance to the emperor Paul. These tales were told; and resemblances found, when Sweden was at war with Russia. On such occasions, as it is with general elections in England, all the faults of the contending families are sought for generations back, and flung in each other's faces.

means improbable, that the aversion he manifested, arose from the gay and splendid habiliments of the Swedes, which formed so striking a contrast with the grotesque figures, that dressed in Paul's costume, stalked about his palaces in constant dread, lest by some unhappy accident, such as not putting on their caps, according to order, or carrying their heads sufficiently erect, they should excite the rage of their merciless master, whom no mortal knew how to please or to obey.

The regent and the king having escaped the political toils spread by Catherine the second, departed early the eighth morning after that appointed for the marriage, and arrived safe at Stockholm. There is, at least, this merit due to Catherine the Second, that having had the only two heirs to the Swedish throne in her hands, she did not make them prisoners* and seize on the

* The short sighted policy adopted in 1807 by Napoleon Bonaparte towards the Bourbons of Spain, has, in some degree, given a *colouring* of retributive justice to his present isolated and melancholy state. It is, however, an act as little to be justified as that with which his enemies reproach the ex-emperor. Catherine, with provocations equal to the gaolers of Bonaparte, with political temptations as strong as those which seduced the latter, wisely abstained from confining or murdering her royal guests, although the crime might have thrown all Sweden into her hands. There is not in all Europe, at the present day, a single monarch who might not, five years back, as reasonably have anticipated the dreadful banishments inflicted on the great conqueror of Europe, as that it should ever be his fate. The example sets aside the finest qualities of the human mind; oppresses the fallen, and violates the law of

kingdom. She certainly had the power to do this, and she suffered them to depart.

Thus terminated, the second expedition of the young king of Sweden into foreign countries in search of a wife; whilst, according to a work, whence some of these particulars are selected, the empress Catherine caused no less than ELEVEN German princesses to be sent for and shewn to her son and grandsons, from whom to select a bride!*

The year 1796, was remarkable for its incidents. This visit to Petersburg, and apparently intended intermarriage between the king of Sweden and the grand daughter of the empress, was viewed with jealousy and mistrust by the French government; who ordered M. de Rehausen, who had been sent to succeed Baron Stael of Holstein,

honor and of nations: as a precedent it is highly dangerous: and some of those princes by whom it has been adopted, or their descendants, may as bitterly rue the short sighted policy that led to the incarceration of Bonaparte, as that great man certainly *must* have regretted his treatment of the Bourbons of Spain. Great moral principles are seldom if ever violated with impunity. The mighty power of Russia on the one side; the rising greatness of the United States on the other, must rapidly and inevitably lower the positive, and comparative power and influence of Great Britain. It was once proposed by some public writers in London, to send Mr. Maddison to St. Helena. It was rash to throw out such a hint. The experience of the next seven years will probably, by its bitter fruit, prove its impolicy.

* These princesses were thus selected, *three* from Darmstadt; *three* from Wirtemberg; *two* from Baden; and *three* from Saxe Cobourg. Vide vol. i. p. 131. *Secret Memoirs of the Court of St. Petersburg.*

whose political opinions were supposed to be more favorable to France than those of the former; whom the French government openly accused of being a creature of Catherine's. These indications of an approaching alliance with the imperial family, and a war with France, caused great discontent, the majority of the nation being decidedly averse to both measures.

Soon after the return of the king and the regent from Petersburg the king arrived at his majority, and the regent, faithful to his promise, surrendered a sceptre which, without risk he might have retained, and retired into private life. No sooner were the reins of power in his own hands, than the young monarch dismissed the regent's ministers, and recalled Baron Armfelt from banishment. He was, however, compelled *to pardon* the delinquent whose estates and titles were restored; the board nailed to the pillory at the Hö Torg was removed, but all the influence of the king was inadequate to the task of inducing the Ryk Drotts (Lord Chancellor of Sweden) to erase the record of his conviction from the journals of the courts of law. A resistance to the errors of a young monarch, and the subtle arts of a veteran intriguer, that are as decidedly honorable to the character of Count Wachtmeister, as of the equity of the sentence, by which the criminal had been found guilty of high treason against his country, committed at the instigation of Russia.

CHAPTER VI.

The marriage of the king.—His extraordinary demeanor.—Northern confederacy.—Despotism of Gustavus IV.—His personal character and habits.—Insults and torments his queen.—Destroys the relics of Swedish liberty.—His military incapacity. His discretion.*—Anecdote of Count D'Essen and the king.—His inveterate enmity towards Napoleon Bonaparte and the French.—Acts of treachery and cowardice imputed to the king.—His superstition.—Description of Mr. Edward Thornton's first audience.—Brigadier-general Sir Levet Hanson.—Order of St. Joachim.—Lord Nelson and Sir Robert Ker Porter made knights of that* illegitimate *order.—A caricature of the king.—The Copenhagen expedition.—Gustavus IV. suspects the faith of Great Britain.—Anecdote of Admiral Stedingk.—Anecdote of Louis XVIII.—Anecdote of Baron Hjerta.—The dethronement of Gustavus IV. conditionally resolved upon.—Overture of the Swedish patriots to Mr. Spencer Perceval.—The Duke of Gloucester might have been King of Sweden.—The revolution of* 1809, *and dethronement of Gustavus IV.—The cause of the election and death of the Prince of Augustenborg; and of the election of the Prince of Ponte Corvo.—Anecdotes respecting Gustavus IV. after his dethronement.*

THE king being determined no longer to live a bachelor, went forth a third time on a matrimonial

expedition. The princess Frederika Dorothea, daughter of the hereditary prince, and granddaughter to the reigning great duke of Baden, was the object of his choice, and a better he could not have made. Her sister, at fourteen years of age, had married the Russian grand duke Alexander. The bride, chosen by the king, was lovely in her person, and amiable in her disposition; and about eighteen at this period. It was likely this princess should have peculiar attractions, for the court of Baden was, perhaps, the most cultivated, and the least corrupted in all Europe.

When the beauteous young stranger arrived at Stockholm, her presence was hailed with general acclamation. Even the most unrelenting and stern of the nobles, who had not yet digested the *psalm tunes* that Gustavus the Third taught them to sing in 1772, yielded a ready homage to her beauty, and appeared at court to assist at the marriage ceremony: which, on the 31st of October, 1797, was performed with all the splendor that Sweden possessed, in the Ryk's Sal, or grand Saloon of the States, in the royal palace of Stockholm. It was remarked to the author, by ladies who appeared in the train of the fair bride, that even on this occasion, the young king relaxed not the least from that gravity and solemnity of carriage by which he was distinguished, more than for graceful motion. They said it was enough to chill the bosom of his bride. The imputed coldness was, however, only external, for such was his ardour on the wedding-night,—the first no

doubt, he ever passed, since his childish days, in the arms of a female; that the affrighted bride, fleeing from his rude embrace, confused and trembling, fled for refuge to her female attendants in the anti-chamber,* nor was it till some weeks had elapsed, that the marriage was consummated.

The efforts made by the king to embroil the German courts, are well known to Europe, and also the disrespect he manifested towards France. He envied England the empire of the sea no less than the French their victories by land; and when the frequent captures of neutral or neutralised ships, by British cruizers, aided by the remonstrances and intrigues of France, led to the formation of a second northern confederacy, notwithstanding the crippled state of the Swedish navy, Gustavus was loud in his declamations. Denying the right of search, and forbidding his naval commanders submitting, except to overwhelming force, he caused the capture of a Swedish convoy, which celebrated event furnished Sir William Scott, the chief judge of the British court of admiralty, with an opportunity of displaying all his eloquence and professional science.† The result is too fresh in the

* Many witty, and some not over delicate verses, were written by the poets of Stockholm on this occasion; and the fact, that ought to have been concealed, found its way into the Morning Chronicle!

† On this occasion the learned Judge dwelt with marked emphasis on the ubiquity of the law of nations: and did not hesitate to say it had no locality, but like the breath of heaven, was equally enjoyed by all; and that, if he sat at Stockholm or London, if he

memory of the public to require much detail. The king of Sweden was stubborn and noisy: the Danes silent and determined. A powerful fleet appeared before Copenhagen: the Danes fought desperately; and suffered greatly, but were forced to yield; and the second armed neutrality of the north was suddenly dissolved.

This failure would have irritated the king much more, if he had not been gratified by the heavy loss sustained by the Danes; at which he openly rejoiced.

By this time the king had fully displayed all the crudites of his disposition. Aiming at absolute power, he trampled on the rights of his people, and violated his oath. At the diet held at Norrköping in 1800, he threw off the mask, and so greatly disgusted several patriotic nobles, that they threw up their patents of nobility. Amongst those patriots, the Barons Hjerta,* and Silverschjöld, and Colonel

judged for Sweden or for England, his principle of action, and its result, would be the same. Lord Erskine and the author of the Northern Courts had once a serious conversation on this declaration, and the doctrine held in the same place, by the same judge, in 1806 and 7, when he abandoned the high ground taken in the Swedish convoy cases; and acting on proclamations, that annihilated the law of nations, he felt himself reduced to shape his decisions according to instructions, and to declare that, for the preservation of commerce, *simulation* and *dissimulation* as to ship's papers, must be tolerated. What a falling off was here! What concession more incompatible with christianity, was ever required of the Dutch at Japan.?

* Dr. Thomson spelt this gentleman's name *Jerta*, and has spoken of his *temper* in rather too coarse a manner.

Skjöldebrand; were particularly distinguished. The whole kingdom was filled with indignation; but the advice of General Baron Armfelt and Count Ugglas, prevailed. It was *then* foretold that the next diet would dethrone this rash untractable king, and the event verified the prediction.

Gustavus considered his ministers and his office clerks, much in the same light, and rendered himself obnoxious, ridiculous and dangerous, by grasping at the power of prophet, priest, and king. His motives might not be founded in vice, but no goodness of intention could justify his conduct. All sufficient in his own estimation, with matchless gravity he committed the most ludicrous blunders, of which no one dared to remind him, for his temper grew extremely violent, and his pride would not brook advice, still less endure remonstrance: hence, none but the base and servile could approach his person, whose total want of moral principle rendered them willing tools: indifferent as to distant consequences, and delighted with the sweets of office, they unfeelingly aided in the destruction of what remained of constitutional freedom.

As a master, the king was irregular in his carriage, capricious, and violent: he was mean and sordid in trifles, and as a husband, perhaps with the best possible intentions, he contrived, soon after her marriage, to render his queen miserable. The author was assured in Sweden, that on the evening of the day of his marriage, he

required his blushing bride to read aloud in a German bible the first chapter of Esther, and he told her with more candour than suavity, to be prepared to pay him obedience, for, like King Ahasuerus, he was resolved to bear absolute rule within his own house!

Full of health and youthful spirits, the amiable young princess, by her graceful manners, and undeviating good humour, gained the warmest affections of her attendant train. She treated the ladies of her court as her equals; their daughters became sometimes her playfellows. But there was nothing rude or boisterous in her manner; it was innocent cheerfulness, and fascinating playfulness. Her kind and gentle heart sighed for the happiness that none but kindred minds can impart; and though she was not happy, she generously strove to make every being round her happy and contented.

Gustavus took it into his sapient head, that King Ahasuerus, did not allow either Vashte, or Esther to appear gay, to laugh, or show any symptoms of *gaeite du cœur*. He also discovered that as his wife she had no equal in Sweden, she ought not to have a friend; nor, even in her own bedchamber, suffer any of her ladies to accost her with familiarity. The expressions, "my dear friend," "my dear Charlotte," were formally and for ever interdicted. With a mixture of solemnity and wrath, he accused his weeping queen of having lost sight of her exalted station;

and was gentlemanly enough to allude to the *petty court* where she had been educated, as the cause of her palpable want of dignity!—It happened, however, soon after one of these grim lectures, he chanced to catch her romping with one of her maids of honour. If he had heard that the world was to be destroyed next day, or that the most terrible of pests was desolating his metropolis, he could scarcely have appeared more completely horror-stricken! He drove the unfortunate ladies from her court, calling them very uncourteous names, and actually threatened to send the queen back to Baden, if ever she was caught at play with her attendant ladies! The weak monarch treated a levity that was natural to her age, and free from the appearance of vice, as an affair of state; her youthful attendants were removed, though their ancestry was almost as illustrious as her own; and their places were filled with ancient dames, whose rigid features and stiff manners banished from the presence of the youthful queen the light and elegant figures of her juvenile attendants, and the affectionate smile, and cheerful glance, were seen no more. Henceforth she had no companion but the priest, and king, her husband. Thus rudely deprived of the society she loved, and of the blessings of social intercourse, her spirits drooped, and the rosy bloom of health forsook her cheeks. The isolated princess, the consort of a king, felt desolate and alone in the midst of a

crowded palace; and her aching heart regretted the refined society, and elegant pleasures of her native home.

It was not to be wondered that a structure where his supposed father had been murdered, and which stood full in view of his state apartments, should remind him too often of that melancholy event; but it surely was absurd in him to wish to destroy an elegant and costly structure on that account? This was opposed by persons who had a legal claim on the property, and by the burgomasters and aldermen of Stockholm; an opposition that filled his mind with rancour, and rendered him unwilling to reside in a metropolis where he pretended his life would be in danger, because the edifice was not demolished in which his father had been slain. The king was very strongly inclined to order the guards to demolish the obnoxious structure.

Europe breathed awhile, after the treaty of Amiens, and nations, weary of war and revolutions, hoped to enjoy permanent repose, but the rupture of that treaty soon dissipated those pleasing expectations, and the renewal of hostilities in 1803, between France and England, endangered the tranquillity of every other nation.

Seconding, as it were, the efforts of the British government, to shake the yet unstable power of France, Gustavus the Fourth traversed Germany, striving to form a new coalition.

During these peregrinations, he was accompa-

nied by his mild and gentle queen, who sacrificed her happiness to her duty, debarred herself every social enjoyment to gratify the whims of her capricious lord.

From July, 1803, till February, 1806, this monarch continued absent from his dominions. Whilst he was rambling far from Sweden, some wag posted a placard near the great palace at Stockholm, offering a considerable reward to any one who might be able to give information to the Swedish nation where their king might be found!

The detection of the conspiracy formed for the assassination of Bonaparte, and the consequent seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, agitated the mind of this monarch to an extreme degree. The Swedish minister was immediately recalled from Paris, and all communication with France prohibited. A paragraph in the Moniteur having given offence to Gustavus the Fourth, the French embassy was immediately ordered to quit Stockholm, and Gustavus next forbade the introduction of foreign journals of all descriptions. The emperor of the French seemed to estimate at a proper value the importance of these events, and did not seem at all inclined to make Sweden suffer for the follies of its king. This conduct irritated Gustavus almost to madness: he purchased busts of the Emperor Napoleon, engravings, &c. which he treated with the utmost contempt, as if he thought Bonaparte must feel the indignities offered to plaister or paper! Such was the

impotent malice with which the half frantic monarch vented his senseless rage.

The king of Prussia complimented Napoleon on his elevation to the imperial dignity, and sent him the grand cross of the order of the Black Eagle: disdainful of such an associate, Gustavus returned the insignia of that order: next the Prussian minister was recalled from Stockholm, and the commerce of Sweden suffered by this wanton act of arrogance and folly.

Indefatigable in his exertions to create enemies towards his person and dominions, Gustavus contrived to insult his brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander. The grand cross of the order of the Seraphim was returned to Gustavus, after the death of the unfortunate Emperor Paul, by whom it had been worn: but the bearer was not descended from a family sufficiently illustrious! a Russian minister on his way to Sweden, was sent back to Petersburg, and permission to proceed, refused. And, as if he had been the sovereign of thirty millions of people, and determined to pick a quarrel with a *feeble neighbour*, he seized upon the Russian moiety of the wooden bridge at Aberfors, which marked the boundary between Russian and Swedish Finland; and persisted in painting it in the Swedish colours. These petty squalls at last, however, blew over: greater objects demand the attention of the imperial court; hence, an accommodation of those little matters was soon effected. On the 15th January,

1805, a defensive alliance was signed between Sweden and Russia, by which Gustavus was to have commanded the *Russian army*, which, in conjunction with 25,000 Swedes, and an auxiliary British force, was to have invaded and subdued the Batavian republic. A more effectual mode of lowering the crest of Russia, and diminishing her power, could not have been hit upon than placing a Russian army under the command of Gustavus the Fourth.

When the king concluded an offensive alliance with England against France, all the cash he could procure was 60,000*l.* and that was to be expended in putting Stralsund in a state of defence. Amidst numerous acts of folly and caprice, there was *one* principle from which he never varied; and that was the necessity and expediency of re-establishing the throne of the Bourbons. In this pursuit alone he was sincere and consistent. There were other and far greater powers, who were no less desirous to restore the Bourbon throne than the king of Sweden, and mean enough to disavow that object, and have recourse to innumerable subterfuges to disguise the truth.

The intemperate conduct of the king of Sweden perplexed and offended the emperor of Russia, who was then at Berlin, and also the king of Prussia. Gustavus *renounced* the command of the Russian army on its advance to the Elbe: jealousy of Prussia prevented his permitting the Swedish troops from quitting Pomerania, and it was in vain

that General Tolstoy, to shew that Sweden was not offended with her allies, requested that 3,000 Swedish troops should march with the Russian army.

The effect of this misunderstanding affected the emperor of Austria very injuriously; saved Holland from being devastated, if not subdued, and her navy from destruction; thus Gustavus the Fourth confounded the projects of his allies, and most essentially promoted the interest of the emperor of the French, against whom he was infuriated almost to madness.

Negociations with Prussia were renewed; the Swedish troops were put in motion, but nothing of importance occurred. Gustavus would not deign to consult the Governor General D'Essens, as to the marche route, and not unfrequently regiments were ordered to halt at villages, which were no where to be found except on erroneous maps. From this almost incredible carelessness, the battalion of guards and the king's regiment, were, on the 26th of November, without shelter in the most inclement weather. The same disorder prevailed as to forage and magazines, the commissariat being directed to form them in one place, and the commanders of the troops to seek for them in another! How unlike the great Gustavus Adolphus was the next king who bore his illustrious name!

The Swedes were ordered to march into Hanover; they took possession of Haarburg, where

they were commanded to double the customs, and seize a moiety of the proceeds for the use of the Swedish army. This act, which violated the letter and spirit of the treaty of Westphalia, gave deep and general disgust, and produced *twenty and six dollars!* Gustavus the Fourth might have accommodated matters with Prussia, and have obtained the command of a Prussian army, but though fond of his resemblance to Charles the Twelfth, he had no appetite to share in such perils as those by which the envied glory of Charles the Twelfth was gained.

Whilst this puerile monarch was thus engaged in petty details, and disgusting the Swedish army by keeping out of the reach of danger, he was filled with horror and dismay on hearing of the subjugation of Austria, the defeat of Russia, and the dissolution of the coalition; but those disastrous tidings had no effect in detaching Gustavus from his follies. After the British troops had returned home, despairing of reconquering the Electorate of Hanover, he assumed the title of Protector of the territory of Läuenburg! The Prussians approached to dislodge him: but ere they could arrive, he had the *discretion to retire* to Ratzburg, leaving 1,800 brave Swedes, commanded by Count Löwenhjelm, to face the Prussians, with orders to fire upon an army irresistibly powerful, compared with their inconsiderable force, if the Prussians attempted to cross the Rhine. Much discontent was excited by the Swedes continuing so long in the occupa-

tion of Mecklenburg. The king was informed by Mr. Fox, that the elector of Hanover wished him to retire. He seemed inclined to consider Läuenburg as a Swedish possession, till after a general peace. But the offensive and defensive alliance that was soon afterwards formed between France and Prussia, as the price of which Hanover was consigned over to the latter power, soon altered the face of affairs. Gustavus insulted the emperor of Russia by refusing, during several days, a passage to his troops across a narrow neck of land scarcely an English mile in breadth; a short time previous to this denial of a passage to the Russian army, he had offered *to sell* to the emperor of Russia, for seven millions of dollars, the whole of the territory that remained to Sweden of the German conquests, made by the GREAT Gustavus Adolphus!

The ill-timed pertinacity of this intractable king in holding possession of Läuenburg, aggravated the miseries to which Hanover already stood exposed. The Prussian army surrounded the handful of Swedes, whom Gustavus had left: the Swedes dared to fire, and the Prussians, seeing them preparing to attempt to force a passage, with true grandeur of sentiment, opened their ranks, and paying them military honors, suffered them to pass unmolested. The Prussian soldiers had made prize of two dragoon horses, which their commander ordered to be returned; but the rude and sullen monarch ordered them to be re-

turned, insisting on considering the animals as *prisoners of war!* Nothing mortified the king of Sweden so thoroughly as the compassion, or rather the contempt with which he felt himself treated by the king of Prussia; in revenge for which, Gustavus ordered his ships of war to capture the ships of Prussia, blockade his ports, and he was so vindictive as to cause the defenceless towns on the coasts of the Baltic, to be bombarded, unless a sum of money was paid to procure an exemption! Disgusted with his follies, disheartened by the losses those follies had occasioned, his subjects imputed those predatory acts of vengeance to the lessons he had gained from his alliance with Great Britain; but the naval blockades gave serious umbrage to the latter power, whose commerce it diminished.

The senate of Hamburg was desirous that the correspondence between Count Löwenhjelm and the Prussian commander, should not be published in the Hamburg Correspondent: irritated beyond measure at a line of conduct that was prudent and becoming, the monarch threatened to march his army into the city, upon which the senate yielded.

This enmity towards Prussia lasted till France and Prussia were at variance; the king of Sweden then recalled his troops, raised the blockade, and set the Prussian ships at liberty: in so far he acted with justice and dignity.

Towards autumn, Gustavus returned to his Swedish territories, as inveterate as ever against

France, whence he recalled all his subjects. The hope he had conceived from the hostilities that existed between France and Prussia, were annihilated by the terrible misfortunes that rapidly destroyed the Prussian armies, and gave the capital and most of the provinces over to the conqueror. In this critical state of affairs, a wiser monarch might have been perplexed.

The first impulse of Gustavus was to transport his army to Pomerania, and take the field in person against the French; but, *discretion*, the better half of courage, prevailed over rashness, and he abandoned that warlike design, and the few Swedes left at Läuenburg were captured at Lubec. Bonaparte always seemed desirous of sparing this monarch; he even offered an increase of territory as the recompence of remaining at peace, which the Swedish nation so greatly required, but the personal antipathy of Gustavus against the emperor of the French, was the cause of his rejecting the overture.

Finding every attempt useless to appease or intimidate the bewildered king, Napoleon still paused before he attacked Sweden; meantime Gustavus ordered his army to Scania, where he expected the storm would alight. Though terrified when danger was near, Gustavus grew bold as it receded; and when he looked at the fine army assembled on the shores of the Baltic, his valorous heart once more panted to measure swords with Bonaparte. He determined to transport his army

to Rugen; money being scarce, and Great Britain not over ready in offering him a subsidy, Gustavus seized upon 375,000 silver dollars that had been forwarded by the cabinet of St. James's, and were intended for the emperor of Russia.

The ill fortune of Prussia humbled her monarch to that degree, he supplicated relief from the king of Sweden, in consequence of which negociations were begun; and when Marshal Mortier retired towards Prussia, his rear-guard was attacked by the Swedes, and the French hospital taken; even then suspicions of his fidelity attached to Mortier, who, alarmed by this event, suddenly raised the siege of Colberg, repulsed the Swedes, and cut off a part of the troops, and compelled the main body to fall back upon Pomerania. Count D'Essen, the governor of Pomerania, had the good fortune to be able to arrest the torrent of ruin that menaced the Swedish army, and concluded an armistice with Marshal Mortier at Schlatkow, which was signed on the 18th April, 1807.*

The armistice that probably saved the Swedish army from destruction, offended England, Russia,

* The conduct of Gustavus, as a general, excited derision and contempt. If *cowardice* be a disease, he that is troubled with it should never ape the mien of a hero. This weakness belonged to the unfortunate monarch in question, whose temper was so violent, and his judgment so weak, that General Count D'Essen said to him—"*Sire, I must resign! It is impossible for an honest man to serve you.*"

and Prussia; Gustavus was also displeased because of the titles "*Emperor and King.*" To pacify the Swedish monarch, Napoleon permitted him to ratify the armistice without acknowledging the imperial title: yet, long previous to this period, the French emperor was in possession of the facts already recited that went to prove the *illegitimacy* of the king, considered as the son of Gustavus the Third! Napoleon seemed to cherish a greater respect towards the Swedes than any other northern nation, and for the sake of a brave and generous people, he had the magnanimity to spare their weak, unhappy king. The limits of this last division of the work precludes the insertion of all the great and important errors he committed; the most criminal of which was, his open and solemn declaration that he was not at war for any Swedish object, but exclusively for the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France; which the king flattered himself might be attained with a force reduced by combat, disease, want, and hardships to about 6,000 troops, exclusive of 4,000 foreign auxiliaries.

Marshal Mortier was removed from his command, and Marshal Brune succeeded him. The very remarkable conversation between the king of Sweden and Marshal Brune, is the most creditable proof of talent extant, but, its authenticity has been doubted, and what can be said of the morals of a prince endeavouring to seduce the soldier of another monarch? Gustavus stands self-convicted

of having violated the law of honor in thus taking advantage of an interview granted at his own solicitation, and apparently for a very different purpose.

The great powers turned their attention towards peace: the king of Prussia proposed Copenhagen as the seat of the negociation. Upon this being made known to the king, he exclaimed with every mark of rage, *Yes! I'll send a minister to the meeting, but it will be to announce that I never will negociate with Bonaparte!* The result of the campaign in Poland enabled the conqueror to dictate the terms of peace on the field of battle, but still, no impression could be made upon the stubborn mind of Gustavus the Fourth. It is scarcely credible, that after the terms of the armistice with Poland were known, that he proposed to the Russian ministry, to land 50,000 Russians, English, and Swedes, upon the coasts of France, with Louis the Eighteenth at their head. The treaty of Tilsit dissipated these illusions. We have seen this king guilty of momentous errors, and fatal follies: he was now, in revenge of this treaty, cruelly and treacherously resolved to sacrifice the Prussians then in Pomerania! Concealing the intelligence he had received of the disastrous events that had occurred in Poland, on the night between the 10th and 11th of July, he ordered the Prussians to *fire* on the French; an act that might, and very probably would, have led to the complete destruction of the Swedes

and Prussians. It is to be hoped these gross derelictions from moral rectitude, flowed from disordered intellect, which is so frequently evinced by actions peculiarly wicked and malignant. Being disappointed in this project, the unhappy king strove all he could to retard the departure of the Prussians; refusing them permission to take provisions from their own magazines; thereby compelling them to suffer famine, or to plunder for subsistence.

Instead of availing himself of the invitation sent him by the Emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, to negociate a peace with the emperor of the French, Gustavus entered into a new subsidiary alliance with Great Britain, which was signed on the 23d of June; in consequence of which, hostilities commenced in good earnest. On the morning of the 13th of July, a report arrived at the Swedish head-quarters, that the passage of Damgarten was forced. Although this event might have been foreseen, it threw Gustavus into the utmost perplexity and confusion, who issued the most absurd and contradictory orders. Within the short space of twenty-four hours, the adjutant-general for the day was changed three times! The advanced posts, which had been driven in by a far superior enemy, were ordered to re-advance and occupy their former positions! Nothing but native valour, and some fortunate casualities, saved the whole army from being cut off, which succeeded in reaching Stralsund, but not before the king, who was *the first of the fleeing*

fugitives that entered its gates! During this disorderly retreat the terrified monarch sent to Marshal Brune, proposing an armistice.—"*What*," said the marshal, "*is it not rather premature for a descendant of Charles the Twelfth to solicit a truce before the war is thirty-six hours old?*"

The Swedish soldiers, remembering the rash valour of Gustavus the Third, were secretly disgusted by the *precautions* taken by his successor *to shield his royal person*, even from the possibility of danger. On this occasion all hopes of acquiring his military renown, vanished, and the Swedish officers and privates blushed at his pusillanimity. Aware of the disgust created by this infirmity, Gustavus pretended he had received a contusion in the leg from a musket ball: he exhibited a *red spot* on the skin, and his *boot*, it was said, would not receive the usual polish; and an obsequious surgeon, who wished to make his fortune, attempted to give currency to the fabrication; but the thing would not do, and it was quietly abandoned.

The French had hitherto spared the country; but their progress was now marked by devastation. From the walls of Stralsund their army was seen destroying the standing corn. It was evident that the place could not sustain a siege of long duration, and nothing appeared before the eyes of the garrison but death or perpetual captivity. Napoleon made one more fruitless attempt to detach the king of Sweden from his weak and ruinous projects, and Colonel Engelbrecht was

sent to him with a letter expressing the wish of Napoleon to receive an overture for peace, and to assure Gustavus that the French emperor had no design to diminish his territories. The infatuated monarch, as if blindly determined to entail ruin upon himself and Sweden, repeated his determination to pursue interminable war, and, at every risk, effect the restoration of the Bourbons!

The governor of Pomerania, Count D'Essen, strove to awaken in the king the feelings of a husband and a father, by representing the destruction he must inevitably bring on his own head, and upon his kingdom, if he persevered; and it being *impossible* to save Pomerania, he advised its surrender to the duke of Mecklenburg: this wise counsel the king peremptorily refused, and appeared sullen and immoveable. The governor-general said to him, "*Sire, I lament the calamities I cannot avert; and I regret to say that your majesty renders it impossible for Swedish valour or fidelity to be of any service to their country.*"

Pent up as he was in Stralsund, the apparently desperate resolution of the king, might have reminded his subjects of the conduct of Charles the Twelfth, if they had not had occular demonstration of the cowardice of Gustavus the Fourth. At the same moment that this weak and perverse king rejected the admonitions of General Count D'Essen, he neglected to fortify Dänholm, till the enemy, at Andershoff, cannonaded the Swedish gun-boats, and drove them from their moorings.

It was then to be attempted under the guns of the enemy! If Dänholm had been taken, not a living soul could have escaped from Stralsund to Rügen.

The dependence of the king for succour and protection, amidst these hourly accumulating perils, rested not on human but on divine aid. Gustavus was an enthusiastic seeker after divine mysteries; he was incessantly seeking to unravel the things foretold by Daniel, and in the Revelations of St. John. Unfortunately for Gustavus, he had in Germany become acquainted with the writings of a priest named Jung, which was translated into Swedish. Although not addicted to profound study, his greatest felicity now appeared to consist in reading the revelations and Jung's strange commentary: and as mysteries always operate most powerfully on feeble minds, that ridiculous work absorbed all his attention. Some calculators having discovered that the text, the letters which compose the name of the French emperor, also compose in Greek the number 666, which the evangelists say is that of—*the beast.* Gustavus readily persuaded himself that Napoleon was the identical beast foretold in the Revelations, whose reign was to be of short duration, and whose final destruction, by the special providence of God, he was appointed to effect! It was this gross superstition, for folly should not be confounded with religion, which, added to the hatred of the modern French, induced him to shun

all negociations or intercourse with France. He informed the duke of Brunswick that he would have nothing to do with '*the beast*,' "if I were," said he, "I should subscribe to my own perdition both in this world and the next."

The evacuation of Stralsund, the return of the king of Sweden with a dispirited army, and his rejection of the advice of those persons who strove to induce him to make peace with France that he might avoid a war with Russia, are events too well known to need repetition.

In the dreary winter of 1807, when the shores were strewed with wrecks, and the seas for many weeks were agitated by fearful storms, it became necessary to send a minister to represent the British monarchy at Stockholm. The character of the king of Sweden, that about this time began to be well understood in the higher circles, sent the office of envoy to Sweden, begging for acceptance, which it is said was the reason why it fell into the hands of Mr. Edward Thornton,* from which combination of extraordinary contin-

* It was currently reported amongst the higher circles in Sweden, that a near relation of this gentleman received 40,000 *l.* secret service money, for furnishing ministers with a copy of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. In October, 1808, in answer to a question from Mr. Brown, why a person of greater capacity had not been sent to Stockholm, Mr. Perceval replied, "*Ministers are not always able to appoint whom they please.*" An admission that speaks volumes, as to the effects of borough-interest!

gencies originated the elevation of that distinguished diplomatic character.

Mr. Thornton arrived in Sweden time enough to assist at the grand national fête that took place, when the shed which covered the colossal statue of Gustavus the Third* was removed, and that superb work of art exhibited to public view. He found the prevailing sentiments of the nobility and gentry decidedly unfavorable to British politics: his looks and manner were not calculated to conciliate the hostile, nor confirm the friendly; and the gloomy king, at his first interview, received him with as much solemnity as if he had been a physician come to announce the approaching dissolution of his nearest and dearest friend. It was remarked to the author, by the Countess L———, who was present, that the Englishman

* An account of this spectacle may be seen in Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Sweden, &c. The statue is eleven feet high: it is therefore larger than that of the ex-emperor Napoleon, by Canova, which is now placed at Apsley House, the town residence of the duke of Wellington. The inscription, said to have been written by Gustavus the Third, is as follows, viz.

	In English.
AT	TO
K. GUSTAF III.	K. GUSTAVUS III.
LAGTIFTARE.	LAWGIVER.
SEGEERWINARE	VICTOR.
FREDENS ÅTERSTELLARE	PACIFICATOR.
AF	BY
STOCKHOLMS BORGERSCHAP,	STOCKHOLM'S CITIZENS,
1790.	1790.

seemed very much troubled with his fine embroidered court dress, and scarcely knew what to do with his arms, or which way to look.

When Mr. Thornton had his first public audience of Gustavus the Fourth, he presented Brigadier-General Sir Levet Hanson,* quondam chamberlain to the duke of Modena; a commander, and *grand-cross* of the equestrian order of St. Joachim, &c. &c. &c. This presentation took place just as the march of the Russian troops towards Swedish Finland was officially announced to the unhappy king. Gustavus, who was very seldom cheerful, was this day peculiarly gloomy; and certainly there was nothing in the person or manners of Mr. Thornton to raise his drooping spirits. He stood before the melancholy king more abashed, perhaps, than when he underwent his first public examination at Cambridge, previous to obtaining a degree. His figure and attitude were alike destitute of ease or ele-

* The history of this extraordinary character would, no doubt, be extremely interesting. What his conduct might have been in the early and more active part of his life, the author cannot judge, neither can he elucidate the cause of his spending so great a part of his life in Italy, Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden; but at the time Mr. B. knew him, *i. e.* 1808, no one could conduct himself in a more gentlemanly manner. His company was much courted; and he was highly respected by all who knew him.

It was this gentleman who invested Admiral Lord Nelson with the *grand cross* of this order: in return, his lordship sent to Mr. Rihls a large silver tobacco-box, inclosing a letter expressive of the gratification he felt on receiving the investiture! This Mr. Rihls was Sir Levet's *man of all work.*

gance. His tremulous accent and doleful visage bespoke a man abashed and confounded; and he uttered a meagre speech in very bad French, and the worst possible style of oratory. The king seemed too abstracted to notice half that he said; and the Countess L—— declared, that if a stranger had seen him in a different place, he might have supposed it was some serving-man, equipped in his master's gala dress, amusing himself by aping the air of a courtier,

Not so with the gentleman whom he led up to the throne;—it was the corpulent, convivial, equestrian knight, Sir Levet Hanson. He was clad in the identical suit, dressed in which, thirty years anterior to this period, he had been presented to the late duke of Modena, as chamberlain of that small, but polished court. Of course, from the mere lapse of time, those once superb garments were much deteriorated. The ground was blue, the embroidery silver; the lace was much tarnished; but then any one might see the suit had been made to measure, for in the duchy of Modena there probably was not another who could have worn them. His features were small, his face round; complexion very fair; his hair light red; but his small features were buried in a load of additional flesh, and he was grown so very corpulent, that, if laid on his back, he would have cast a shadow as long as if standing erect. If his figure was uncourtly and unwieldly, his carriage was gentlemanly, his manner courteous, and his

countenance prepossessing: in point of learning, taste, and humor, he had few equals; and, perhaps, in all Europe, there was not a gentleman who better understood the due performance of those important duties called *the honors of the table.* It was not his extreme corpulency, nor the key of gold affixed to the button-hole, nor the skirts of his embroidered coat, nor the cordon and the grand cross of the order, worn lozenge ways, that attracted every eye, but his *wig*,—which was certainly *unique.* Its shape, "*if shape it had,*" resembled a porridge-pot; its colour, if ever it were uniform, had undergone a variety of changes, and there was every shade to be found between carroty and scarlet! The hair seemed to resemble that which grows on cows, rather than the spoil of human heads. It was a half sphere; the hair all of a length, and therefore it could not be said to have either a *hind* or *fore* part, and the facetious knight used to say, he could dress himself in the dark, as far as his wig was concerned, without any danger of putting it on awry.

As Mr. Thornton approached the throne, leading his jolly countryman, the absent king seemed to awake as from a dream, and in a moment became self-collected and attentive. Instantly every eye was bent on the two Englishmen, and the *nondescript wig* of Sir Levet. The duchess of Sodermanland (the last queen dowager of Sweden), who was ever '*a laughter-loving dame,*' upon catching a glance of this matchless wig, was seized with

such an inclination to laugh aloud, that she had the greatest difficulty to suppress her inclination; and if she had indulged it, Gustavus would, no doubt, have sent her into perpetual banishment. Sophia Magdalena, the mother of the king, looked earnestly at the duchess, and seeing on what object her sight was fixed, was herself seized with the same merry propensity, which, extending to the ministers and attendants behind the throne, had well nigh caused a burst of laughter throughout the whole court. A greater contrast in the human form could scarcely be imagined than was presented in the person of the king and that of Sir Levet: the former resembled a cylinder of small diameter; the latter a sphere! Within Sir Levet's capacious vest half a dozen such striplings might with ease have been buttoned. After the levee was over, Sir Levet had the honor of a private audience: the king asked him, in German, if he were not the gentleman who had written a letter to him from Hamburg, requesting an account of all the orders of knighthood that had existed, or existed then, in Sweden? Bowing as profoundly as the rotundity of his figure permitted him, Sir Levet answered in the affirmative.—"I replied to your letter," said the king, "and sent you the information required." Sir Levet smiled most graciously, moved his head reverently, and bowed lower than before. "I read your book,"* continued Gustavus,

* A history of all the orders of knighthood in Europe; not forgetting that of *St. Joachim.*

and admired it very much. I am happy to see you at my court, and hope you will enjoy good health, and pass your time agreeably in this northern metropolis." Sir Levet, quite overcome with these extreme condescensions, bowed so low, that having lost his balance, he had nearly prostrated himself at the feet of the king, who, rising to retire, looked, compared with our fat knight, like a greyhound on its hind legs.* From the moment Sir Levet Hanson appeared, his person and perriwig furnished topics of general conversation for *that evening*, at least; and scarcely was he out of hearing, before the royal dames were inquiring of the nobility and pages who the fat gentleman was? whence he came?—and his presentation will be remembered, and occasionally recited, amongst the *memorable* events of court history in Sweden, as long as any of the persons who were then present shall be living.

When the author of these pages arrived at Stockholm, in 1808, he found the most alarming reports in circulation, and a general feeling of apathy and despondency prevailing. The best-informed people felt neither love nor respect towards their monarch, nor confidence in his ministers; domestic trade was at a stand; foreign

* The king's face was singularly formed, and rather narrow and long; some one made a caricature of him, under the figure of a greyhound standing on its hind legs, with its face parallel with its chest. It excited some mirth; as the likeness was strong, it could scarcely be mistaken.

commerce annihilated; the storehouses of the merchants were empty, and their ships of commerce rotting and decaying in harbour. Although the invasion of Finland ought to have been foreseen as the natural result of the line of policy determined upon by Gustavus, the magazines were neither supplied with ammunition nor provisions. In Stockholm, in the space of one month, by the king ordering many articles of the first necessity for the army to be delivered up to the crown, the price of provisions was doubled; brandy was tripled in price; and hay became much dearer than ever it was known in London. Instead of causing the galley fleet of Finland, and the naval magazines, to be removed across the gulf of Bothnia, and deposited in Swedish havens, the king was sufficiently ill advised to suffer the whole to remain, whereby, when the frost set in, they were sure to have been captured or destroyed, if the province should be successfully invaded. By this unaccountable want of foresight, Sweden sustained an irreparable loss of means of defence or offence, and property to the value of more than a million sterling! When the troops composing the army of the west marched into Norway, neither tents, blankets, nor provisions were prepared, and the soldiers, many of them being raw recruits, had no bed but the cold snow; no canopy but a winter's sky. A small share of prudence might have averted the loss of Finland in one short campaign, although its ultimate safety was

not, perhaps, attainable. It was well known at Paris, that Gustavus kept up an active correspondence with Louis the Eighteenth at Mittau. When the Bourbon princes, no doubt most reluctantly on the part of the Emperor Alexander, were expelled from that remote retreat, Gustavus the Fourth gave orders that their chief should be received in Sweden with all the honors paid to a sovereign prince. This certainly was magnanimous, and showed, amidst a fearful maze of errors, that Gustavus was at times master of himself, and capable of acting as became a king.

It was the prevailing opinion of the cultivated and best-informed persons in Stockholm, that, as Europe was then situated,—taking the least of two great evils,—it would have been more prudent for Sweden to have joined the continent than Great Britain. It is true, that in the course of the summer, said they, England may annihilate our commerce and destroy our fleet, yet she is not strong enough to conquer a province, nor to endanger our existence as a nation. Grain might be procured in abundance from the opposite shores of the Baltic; our exports of iron would be very considerable, in defiance of British cruizers; and by hermetically sealing the Baltic ports against British commerce, and by cutting off her usual supply of raw materials for the outfit of her fleets, she will be forced to succumb, and admit the principle of "*free ships, free goods.*"

But the weak and bewildered king neither

strove to preserve peace nor to prepare for the terrible contest that he rashly resolved to brave. There was scarcely a school-boy in Sweden who did not know that the province of Finland was an object that had tempted the cupidity of every sovereign from Peter the Great to Alexander. In a military point of view, it might be said to be *essential* to its safety; and, on that account, according to the principle upon which the Copenhagen expedition was defended, it was lawful and right for the emperor, without declaration of war, without the sound of trumpet or beat of drum, to pounce upon and seize the envied prize! Humbled, though not subdued, by the treaty of Tilsit, the Emperor Alexander was in want of some exploit to put the Russians in good humor, and cover the military defeats that led to that memorable treaty. The conquest of Swedish Finland and its annexation to Russia, of all probable events, was the one most desirable to the emperor; and when opportunity serves, few are the instances in which mighty potentates pay more obedience to the dictates of honor and honesty than to the cruel and selfish dictates of ambition.

It was the duty of the king to have sacrificed his private feelings to the welfare of his subjects: supposing he could not, consistently with his honor, have made peace with France, what line of conduct ought he then to have pursued? General Klingspor, and the best Swedish officers, advised the king, in the summer of 1807, to put strong

garrisons into Sveaborg and the other fortresses; to withdraw the whole of the flotilla, or galley fleet, the ships of commerce, and naval magazines; and, in conjunction with Great Britain, as soon as the waters of the Baltic should be free from ice, to direct one great effort against Cronstadt and Petersburg. Or, if those objects were impracticable, by landing a powerful army in the rear of the invaders, the veteran general strove to shew how the Russians might have been destroyed by detail. This counsel was pressed in vain, verbally and by letter, on the wayward king.

Although Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus fully approved of the British expedition against Copenhagen, and certainly violated the neutrality of Sweden by supplying the besiegers with provisions from Scania, it is certain that ever after he expressed the strongest and most inveterate jealousy of its objects. He kept a large army assembled on the shores opposite to the Sound, not to guard against any sudden attack of Denmark, but of Great Britain! Such are the bitter fruits of tampering with national honor. The object might have been obtained in a less offensive way. Sweden was in greater danger than Great Britain; yet such was the indignation that prevailed, that it was scarcely prudent for an Englishman to own his country. Instead of thanking us for removing so dangerous a neighbour, they execrated our perfidy and cruelty. Admiral Stedingk, in the Stora Societet, declared it would not in the

least have surprised him if Lord Gambier had detached ten sail of the line to Carlscrona, to take the wreck of the Swedish fleet under *British protection*, and *prevent* its falling into the hands of Russia or France!* Whilst the most respectable part of the community of Stockholm reprobated, in the harshest terms, the cruelty of this enterprise, with what bitterness of sarcasm did they not deride our want of firmness in retaining what we had so dearly acquired! They said that we had waded through blood and fire to attain a bad end by worse means; and when the thing was done for which so much obloquy had been braved, the cabinet of St. James's weakly relinquished the occupation of Zealand, the pos-

* The doctrine by which it was attempted to vindicate the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet, might be cited as sanctioning the most cruel and wanton aggressions, and ought to fill the minor courts of Europe with the most serious apprehensions. Under its ample shade, any great power, in the hour of unruffled peace, may pounce upon the capital of a feeble neighbour, and aver that he did so because the possessor was not strong enough, in case of invasion, to resist the force of another great neighbour. Austria might seize upon Italy, to *prevent* its falling into the hands of France; Prussia might once more seize upon Hanover, *lest* Russia should obtain the possession; and Russia, in case of a war with Great Britain, might require the military occupation of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, to *prevent* their ports or navies from enabling Great Britain to invade Russia! The government of the United States has availed itself of that plea to justify the seizure of West Florida and Amelia Island. Perhaps the day is not very remote when Russia, or the United States, may seize and occupy Sicily, Minorca, and the Azores, upon the same pretext.

session of which would have secured to Great Britain the absolute command of the Baltic, and, in defiance of the continental system, a most extensive and lucrative commerce with Europe.

To gratify the general spirit of hatred against Great Britain that animated the bosom of his subjects, the crown-prince of Denmark readily entered into the plans of Napoleon for the subjugation of Sweden; and in the spring of 1808 a powerful army of French and auxiliary troops arrived in the Danish isles, under the command of the prince of Ponto Corvo. The ice in the Sound was breaking up,—the wind was fair,—the troops were embarking, when an English brig-cutter, which had found means to pass the Belts, appeared before Elsineur! She made signals as if other vessels were in sight; and as the only chance of a successful attempt to land on the shores of Scania depended upon the passage being effected across the Sound before the British fleet could pass the Belts, the sudden and unexpected appearance of this brig-cutter led to the immediate abandonment of the enterprise;—the troops were relanded; and Sweden was thus providentially rescued from foreign conquest. If this invasion had succeeded, Sweden would probably have been partitioned between Russia and Denmark;* and as to the

* "It was firmly believed by all the Swedish gentlemen with whom I conversed on the subject, that at the meeting, at Erfurt, between Bonaparte and the emperor of Russia, it had been agreed upon that Sweden should be divided between Russia and Denmark,

unfortunate king of Sweden, he was to have been shot as soon as the actual landing of the French and auxiliary army in Scania should have been effected. At this time a Russian army, thirty thousand strong, had penetrated far into Swedish Finland, taken possession of the capital, of part of the galley fleets and naval arsenals, causing the destruction of the rest, and formed the siege of Sveaborg; whilst a powerful and well-appointed Danish army was collected in Norway, the command of which was conferred upon Prince Augustenburg, who had married the sister of the crown-prince, the daughter of the unfortunate queen, whose memoirs are given in the first volume.

It was about this period, namely, the middle of April, 1808, that the dethronement of Gustavus the Fourth was conditionally determined upon. The Russian and the French factions were equally ready to effect his removal by the shortest road; but a third party, who had the interest of their country really at heart, and were sincerely desirous to save both their king and country, were for new modelling the government, and adopting the form and spirit of that of Great Britain, avoiding its anomalies,—such as the non-responsibility of the king; the right of declaring war or making peace; and the custom of the commons,

and that the river Motala and the ridge of mountains that run north from it should have been the boundary between those two kingdoms."—Vide Thomson's Travels in Sweden, p. 121.

in each new parliament, *praying for liberty of speech!* Subsequent to the accession of Gustavus the First, commerce had produced a new class of men in Sweden, as rich and well educated as the nobles, namely, the merchants and mine-owners, who were altogether unrepresented in the estates of Sweden.

A revolution of some kind, that should take the reins of government from the feeble hands of Gustavus the Fourth, was admitted to be indispensible by each party; but that party which was for retaining the king, but circumscribing his power, and adopting the most valuable qualities of the British constitution, was the most numerous, wealthy, and intelligent. The principal persons belonging to that party, foresaw, from the stubborn and headstrong disposition of the king, the danger there was of his endeavouring to excite a civil war, or even to call in the Russians to his aid, if he were informed of the intended diminution of the power he had so grossly misapplied. They therefore determined to send some person to the British administration; and if it would agree to receive him, that he should state the melancholy condition to which Sweden was reduced, and the wish of its leading characters (who were inclined to risk their lives and fortunes to save their country), to induce the king to agree to such measures of reform as might give stability to the throne, and restore the freedom of the people.

The author of these pages was the person

selected to introduce the subject by letter to the British cabinet. He was already personally known to Mr. Spencer Perceval, with whom he had had much intercourse relative to the forgery in Great Britain, and by British subjects, of American ships' papers and seamen's certificates; and, more particularly, the absurd and ruinous "*orders in council*," which Mr. Brown ever considered and treated as more likely to strike at the root of our manufactures than seriously to distress the foe. On these subjects Mr. Spencer Perceval, more than once, conferred the honor of asking his opinion; and the almost matchless suavity of manners by which that minister was distinguished, induced Mr. Brown, on the 15th April, 1808, to address the overture in question to that gentleman.

After some previous correspondence, Mr. Spencer Perceval officially agreed to receive Mr. Brown as an accredited agent from the constitutional party in Sweden. At the same time, an application was made to the Emperor Napoleon, to ascertain whether, in case of the dethronement of Gustavus, he would permit the people of Sweden to form an independent government? The reply was short and pithy:—"*The application comes too late. My word is pledged to the crown-prince of Denmark and the emperor of Russia.*"

The amiable and virtuous wife of Gustavus the Fourth strove in vain to prevail upon him to allow her family, whose chief had been raised to the regal dignity by Napoleon, to inter-

cede, and save his throne and the wreck of his dominions. As he sat, gloomy and abstracted, the picture of despair, the queen dropped on her knee, and bathing his hand with tears, implored him to have pity upon her and his children. Nature, for a moment, seemed to move his stubborn heart, and pity to beam from his heavy eyes, but the moment the queen named her brother as the mediator between him and Napoleon, all this gentleness vanished, and yielding to a sudden and terrible gust of passion, he seized the queen by her shoulders, and, dashing her with fury upon the floor, left her senseless to the horrible curses which the frantic man pronounced against her and her nearest and dearest relations.

When the king caused M. Alopeus, the Russian minister, to be arrested, there were found some papers which indicated that attempts had been made to induce General Baron Armfelt to favor the progress of the Russians in Finland, and holding forth the future government of that province as the reward of his treason. This discovery would have opened the eyes of any reasonable being, but the imbecile monarch was so infatuated as to believe the protestations of General Armfelt; and that it was merely a stratagem resorted to by the foe to make his majesty suspect his best and most faithful subjects. The views and interests of Denmark being incompatible with those of Russia, there was not equal danger to be apprehended from entrusting Armfelt with the command of the

army of the west; nor would it be just to assert that the losses and failures which attended the operations of that army originated in the treason or incapacity of that general; more probably the disastrous result which ensued was owing to the personal interference and ignorance of the king; be that as it might, in the summer of 1808, General Baron Armfelt was removed from the command of the western army, and ordered to retire to his estate not far from Stockholm.

In the night between the 5th and 6th of May, 1808, an express arrived at the great palace from Grislehamn, stating that the Russian army stationed in the isles of Åland was in motion, and apparently ready to embark, with a view to land on the Swedish shore. Within an hour, a second messenger arrived, stating that the enemy was landing, and the Cossacs might reach the metropolis early the next morning. It was past midnight when these messengers arrived. The miserable king arose from a sleepless couch, and sent for Counts Ugglas and Fersen: the queen was desired to dress, and prepare for immediate flight. For the first time since his majority, the king caused the Duke of Sodermanland to be summoned to assist by his counsel. The unhappy monarch looked pale as death, and seemed half annihilated by the dismal news. The queen advised her imbecile lord to send a flag of truce to the Russian commander, and demand time to make peace under the mediation of France. The result of this

extraordinary meeting was, that the king constituted his supposed uncle regent of Sweden, and left to him the mournful task, if the Russians approached in force, to procure the best terms he could for the metropolis; and, without waiting for farther events, he resolved to quit Stockholm immediately, proceed to Gothenborg, and embark for England! Whilst preparations were making to carry off as many portable valuables as possible, other expresses arrived, stating that the whole was only a false alarm; that a few straggling Cossacs had indeed arrived on the Swedish territory, and plundered some farm-houses, and that in a heavy fog some objects had been mistaken for a numerous fleet of small vessels, full of troops, being close upon the Swedish shore.* The whole of this, except the landing of a few Cossacs, was a stratagem resorted to by the king's enemies to put his courage to some efficient test. His conduct proved him utterly a coward; and those who were resolved to wrest the sceptre from his hand, and who might, had he been a brave man, have thought him too dangerous to be left alive, were henceforth of opinion that his life might, without any risk, be spared.

At the last anniversary dinner of the Seraphim order, which occurred during the reign of Gustavus the Fourth, he sat pale and melancholy at the

* This affair is alluded to by Mr. James in his entertaining Journal; but it appears he was not acquainted with its powerful effects on the king. Vide Journal, vol. i. p. 337.

splendid board, surrounded by gay and laughing courtiers, who seemed perfectly indifferent to the troubles by which their king was overwhelmed.* Sir Robert Ker Porter has given a correct detail of the ceremonies observed on this occasion in the chapel-royal. It was on this day the king ad-

* A copy of some verses, written on the 28th April, 1808, by the author, in the Ryksal, *i. e.* the Saloon of the States, in the royal palace at Stockholm; occasioned by the heavy depression of spirits manifested by the king whilst dining in state with the knights of the Seraphim order; the news had arrived that morning of the capture of Sveaborg by the Russians.

Ah! whence that death-pale cheek—that cheerless eye,
Where deep despair and anguish seem to reign?
And whence the broken, mournful, frequent sigh,
Which, silent, proves that pomp and pow'r are vain
To shield the aching heart 'gainst rankling care,
Or pluck from out the soul the sting of fell despair?

With thee what mortal shares despotic sway?
What patriot chief thy courses dares to blame?
Supreme art thou! thy people yet obey,
And cringing courtiers adulate thy name,
If boundless pow'r could yield a despot rest,
Thine is that pow'r, whilst sorrow fills thy breast!

Else why, amidst this blaze of regal state,
That tear-fraught eye, that look so full of woe?
Say! dost thou fear some sudden stroke of fate
Shall crush that pow'r, and lay thy greatness low?
Dream'st thou of Eric's fate—a dungeon's gloom,*
And, waking, dread lest such should be thy doom?

* By a singular coincidence of circumstances, immediately after his dethronement, in March, 1809, the king was confined in the same castle that served as a prison for Eric the Fourteenth, namely, Gripsholm.

vanced Chevalier Edlercrantz* to the rank of a commander of the Polar Star, and a grand cross

And where, amidst this gay and glitt'ring train,
Of silk-rob'd, tiil'd slaves, seest thou one friend
That bears thee honest love? to ask is vain—
No friend hast thou! each seeks some private end.
Vile ingrates all: careless what comes of thee,
Thy queen and babes, thy life, or sovereignty!—
Despite of all thy artful courtiers' wiles,
Dark fears obtrude and press thy troubled brain;
And rob thine eyes of fire, thy face of smiles,
Thy couch of rest, and rack thy soul with pain.
I mark thy mournful gaze,—thy vacant eye,
And yield thy grief the tribute of a sigh.

Ill fare the priest, whose dark benighted soul
In youth's first dawn taught thee the lust of pow'r;
Taught thee to aim to reign without control,
And on the worthless all thy bounty shower;
Taught thee to wish the flights of thought to bind,
And rivet fetters on the human mind!

There lies thy weakness! from that Stygian spring
Thy people's hate, thy every ill hath flown,—
And each lost day thou reign'st a despot king,
With rapid progress undermines thy throne.
E'en now it totters! ev'ry prop 's unsound,
And deep beneath thee yawns the vast profound.

If thou wert wise, far from thy sight and throne
This horde of abject slaves thou'dst chace away;
Restore thy people's rights to save thy crown,
And o'er a land of freedom bear mild sway;—
Then from thy brows shall care and sorrow flee,
And Sweden flourish,—happy, great and free!

* This ingenious, tasteful, and scientific nobleman built a mill in Stockholm, near Nya Kongsholm Bridge, on the margin of the

of the order of the Sword. When Gustavus embarked for Finland, that accomplished nobleman was appointed one of the regency. Shortly after this important addition to his former and decisive proof of confidence on the part of the king, Mr. Brown called on him, being anxious, previous to his leaving Stockholm, as far as was attainable, to ascertain his sentiments respecting the present situation and future prospects of his afflicted country. He met with the chevalier at his mill, and they had a long, and, to Mr. B. a most interesting conversation, sitting in the engine room. Far from shrinking, the chevalier readily entered upon the subject of domestic and foreign politics. He made some apt allusions to the fable of the giant and the warlike dwarf; and seemed to consider that Sweden was fighting the battles of England rather than her own. He said it was much to be regretted that Sweden could not be left at peace; and that he had not the least hope that the Russians could be driven out of Finland, or induced to give it up at a general peace.

Mälar lake, which was worked by a steam-engine, erected by a Mr. Murray, of Leeds. Mr. Brown visited this mill several times, the machinery of which was not only most curiously contrived, but the edifice commanded a noble view of the city and surrounding lakes and forests. On one of these visits, when he was accompanied by his kind and revered friend Alexander Hambré, Esq. and the Chevalier Geyer, a conversation took place relative to the engine, whose power was great, but whose action was so even and steady that it made scarcely any noise.

Mr. B. observed to him, how very gloomy the king appeared on the festival day of the Seraphim order. Looking him expressively in the face, the chevalier, in a softened tone, said, "And had the king not ample cause to look gloomy? One-third of his dominions are already conquered,—commerce at a stand,—the finances in the utmost disorder,—and at war with all Europe?" Mr. B. admitting the correctness of the portrait drawn by the chevalier, stated it as a great misfortune that the king was so inveterately addicted to arbitrary government; and expressed his sorrow that, instead of conciliating his people, he seemed alone to aim at asserting his own absolute power. To the latter part of these remarks the chevalier made no reply. After a short pause, he said, "Our king is not popular; I regret to say it: but of one thing be assured, that no monarch was ever animated by better intentions. He is accessible to the meanest of his subjects; he will patiently listen to their complaints, redress their wrongs, and administer to their wants. He is the decided enemy to feudal oppression. Whilst, in your country, the rich and powerful land-monopolists are ejecting the laboring peasant from the commons, and even from strips of land by the highway side; whilst the aristocracy of wealth, in England, is rapidly extirpating the useful race of yeomen, by adding farm to farm, and leaving not a foot of earth to the laborer; whilst misery and vice have

obtruded into your villages,—our king acts on a patriarchal principle. He proves the benevolence of his heart, and the purity of his views. He is a zealous friend to the peasantry of Sweden and Finland; he is anxious to relieve them from the poverty that results from feudal bondage; he wishes to create in Sweden a race of prosperous, sturdy peasants, such as England had a century since, but has no more. Our king is the general patron of agricultural improvements; and he is desirous to cherish and protect the active possessors of small farms; and determined to prevent the great land proprietors from oppressing their dependents."

"In Finland," continued the chevalier, "scarcely thirty years since, *one-third* of the corn consumed by the inhabitants was imported from Sweden, or other countries. At the present day, it grows not only sufficient corn for its consumption, but has, of late years, supplied Sweden with a quantity equal to what was formerly imported thence. The consequence is, that the farmers are becoming comparatively rich: and all this, I can assure you, Sir, is, to a very great extent, owing to the personal feelings and influence of the king. His majesty readily grants very long and advantageous leases, with the right of renewal upon the payment of very light premiums; and, instead of the farmers living pent up in villages, distant from their lands, he gives encouragement to those who

go to reside in the midst of their fields. Whenever he grants permission to the affluent to inclose commons, surveyors are appointed and paid by the crown to make a fair and equitable division; reserving one acre in ten of the soil, and that of the most productive kind, *for the cottagers.* The great owners are compelled to erect a cabin to each portion of land, and, in case of extreme poverty, the next farmer who possesses a certain quantity of land is compelled to find seed, and till that portion for his poor neighbour. Such is the wise and benevolent system upon which our monarch acts in every province of his kingdom. As the anxiety of the king to protect the just rights of the laboring agriculturalist takes away part of the soil which avarice would fain engross to itself, the rich capitalists are hostile to the king; but ought a monarch, who acts thus beneficently, to be decried and run down by clamour?" Mr. B. readily asserted, that these were actions worthy of an Alfred, or a Henry the Fourth. "Well then, Mr. B—," said the graceful and animated orator, "you cannot regard him as a worthless monarch who has a heart capable of feeling such commiseration for the poorest class of his subjects, and of making so many personal sacrifices to improve their condition? Look at the estates of Baron Von P—n, on the shores of the Vennern lake, and see what vast improvements every where meet your eye; mark his ample buildings, his numerous herds,

his fertile fields, and you will see a farm adequate to some of the largest and best cultivated in England. Go next amongst his tenantry, and you will find them poor, dejected, and dishonest, borne down by feudal servitude, that is exacted with the utmost rigor, and pining in want and nakedness amidst the paradise created by their toil. That nobleman, Sir, as you well know, *is a patriot!* Go next to the king's tenants, and the tenantry of the crown. It is true you will see no such improvements, neither will your heart be affected by that wretchedness and despondency which prevails amongst the farmers and laborers, the wretched vassals at Baron Von P—'s. Under the king's mild protection, the industrious farmer enjoys all the fruit of his labors." Mr. B— expressed the unfeigned pleasure this recital gave him. He next felt the pulse of the chevalier as to the happy effects which might result to Sweden, if a constitution such as that of Great Britain, in its days of pristine purity, were established in Sweden.—"*Pristine purity!*" what do you mean by that phrase?" exclaimed the chevalier; "you have travelled enough in Sweden to understand the condition of our farmers, the wealthiest of whom do not enjoy as much of the luxuries of life as your rack-renters in England, whose farms are of the yearly value of a hundred pounds. Yet our farmers are better informed, and have more comforts within their reach, than your farmers had when first your parliaments were assembled.

If you go back to the practice of the days of '*pristine purity*,' you must fill your House of Commons with *illiterate farmers*, who can neither write nor read! Our *border stand* (peasants), are *now* what your peasants were two centuries since. Would you wish to see such characters sitting as legislators in your House of Commons?' Mr. Brown explained, that what he meant by *pristine purity* was, annual parliaments and the right of election commensurate with direct taxation. The chevalier smiled, and observed, that in the sixth century, the laws, language, and the arms stamped on English coins, were the same as prevailed in Sweden. "Those whom you improperly called Saxons," said he, "were Goths, or Belgic Gauls. They carried from our forests those institutions that have raised your country to its present greatness. The freemen who possessed land were admitted to the annual assembly called *Wittegemots;* but the object for which those assemblies were convened was previously prescribed, and when that was decided upon, they dispersed and returned to their homes. I do not say this out of disrespect towards your system of government, because experience has proved its superior excellencies; and I should most sincerely rejoice to see the king propose it as a model to be immediately adopted by the estates of Sweden, avoiding its present anomalies which commerce and luxury have caused" As Mr. B—— listened to these liberal sentiments, he

mentally asked himself how the weak and bigoted king came to appoint so enlightened a nobleman as a member of the regency?—And he now inserts these conversations with the view to render justice to the unhappy king to whose memoirs they relate.

A delay of six weeks occurred before Mr. Brown embarked for England, during which time he had many interviews with the Swedish nobleman before alluded to. He was instructed to defend the projected dethronement of Gustavus the Fourth on two distinct grounds, namely, incapacity and *illegitimacy*: of the first allegation, the proofs were numerous and legible; relative to the latter, they authorised Mr. Brown to state, that they were in possession of legal proofs, which should be produced if the British ministers consented to receive the Swedish gentlemen who would have gone to London, on Mr. Brown's return to Sweden, to have brought the negociation to a close. He was also told that a confidential person was already sent to France; and the answer which arrived first, if it was favorable, would be immediately accepted, as the critical state in which Sweden stood admitted not of delay. It was, however, quite evident how much they would have preferred a British connexion, by their authorising their agent to state, that if the British ministers agreed to mediate between the king of Sweden and his people; and if he should prove intractable, and leave them no remedy but

his dethronement, that they would engage to carry the election of the DUKE of GLOSTER as crown-prince of Sweden, to succeed the Duke of Soder-manland, whose pretensions to the crown no one seemed inclined to dispute. At the same time that this mark of respect towards the illustrious individual and the British nation was mentioned, the agent was enjoined not to name it, except he should see a friendly disposition exisiting in the cabinet ministers, *with whom alone* he was to treat, and unless they should agree to receive delegates from Sweden.

Upon his first interview with Mr. Spencer Perceval, that gentleman told Mr. Brown, if, during the discussions that might ensue, any thing should be communicated which showed any design hostile to the personal safety of the king, he (Mr. Perceval) should consider it his duty to put the king of Sweden upon his guard against such individuals. In reply, Mr. Brown told the minister that those who had sent him were as incapable of becoming assassins as himself; but, for their safety, he should not mention the name of any individual concerned. Mr. Perceval saw at once the difficulty in which he had placed himself, and that, by an over-anxious zeal for the safety of the king, he had shut the door against those communications by which his object might have been better attained.

Several interviews took place between the agent of the Swedes and Messrs. Perceval and

Canning. Mr. Perceval acknowledged that the report of the illegitimacy of the king* had reached him from other quarters. Mr. Canning was less communicative; but when Mr. Brown affirmed that the illegitimacy of the birth could be proved by legal evidence, and that, if they pleased to permit two delegates to treat with them, they should be put into possession of those proofs, he remained silent, not offering a syllable by way of dissent. It was not till the 11th of November, that the negociation closed; and then the overture was declined in a written reply, that stated "*the delicacy and importance of the overture, which ever way it terminated,*" as the cause of the delay which had occurred. At the same time, those statesmen who had adopted the bold and decisive expedient that put the Danish fleet into the power of Great Britain, had less pretensions than any of their

* The late WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MILES, Esq. in a letter addressed to the author, in the autumn of 1809, asserted, that in the year 1792, he was informed that the crown-prince of Sweden was not the son of Gustavus the Third, and that he had communicated both the report and the source whence he derived his knowledge to the Right Honourable Mr. William Pitt. This gentleman died within the last year at Paris. He was unquestionably a man of superior talents, and possessed, by his extensive acquaintance with statesmen and men of letters, an immense fund of information. He had by him a MS. history of the revolutionary wars, in which, or in some other posthumous work, this assertion of the author may, probably, be confirmed. Mr. Miles said he had communicated the fact in question to the earl of Moira, and other distinguished public characters.

predecessors to delicacy of sentiment, or regard to the mild and humane dictates inculcated by the law of nations.

It was January before the official answer given by Messrs. Perceval and Canning was received at Stockholm. The state of affairs at that period is portrayed in vivid colours in the extracts that follow,* taken from a work published at

* If it be allowed that the end of every government is, or ought to be, the happiness and prosperity of the governed, it is also evident that when any government, from vice or incapacity, endangers the existence of society, it no longer answers the end of its institution. In such unfortunate circumstances, there is no longer any choice left to the people, than either to forbear to take any interest in the welfare of the country, or to renounce their allegiance to their oppressor. That which, in the common course of human events, would be highly criminal, becomes the most sacred duty; what, under other circumstances, would be a violation of the law, is now done for the preservation of the law itself; which, with the form of government, support the existence of society. Fortunately for humanity, such events seldom occur; and, perhaps, Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus is a singular example of a king, who so little regarded his own honour or advantage, or the prosperity of his country, that he did not even endeavour to conceal from himself the inevitable consequences of a system from which he had every thing to fear and nothing to hope.

Those who, possessing an intimate knowlege of the king's disposition, with a sound judgment of the political situation of Europe, foresaw the misfortunes which followed. Even then, had a revolution been effected, a

Stockholm to vindicate the revolution. It will be perceived, by the statements contained in that demi-official work,* that it was not till *after* the official reply in question had reached the capital

conviction of its necessity would have justified the measure, and the people would have been well able to distinguish patriotism from ambition. Affection towards the king is a feeling as natural to the Swedes, as hatred to a corrupt and venal aristocracy; the personal misconduct of the king was commonly ascribed to the incapacity of his ministers. The great political mistakes of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus were little known to the Swedish people; all the sources of political information were stopped. The importation of foreign books and journals was, in general, prohibited; those which were permitted to enter the country were severely examined; and the liberty of the press was entirely annihilated. Through these, and other means, public opinion *was yet in favour of the king*. Even the losses sustained in the commencement of the war, far from disheartening, rather fired the courage and roused the resentment of the people; and the consequences of this animation were soon evident in the successes of the army. But towards the autumn of 1808, the opinions of men began to change.† During the summer, all the energies of the nation were called forth and exerted to the utmost; and then suffered either to remain

* Vide an Historical Sketch of the Last of the Reign of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus.

† The king had, many years before, incurred the dislike and contempt of his people; from the moment he resolved to brave the power of Russia, France, and Denmark, he was given up as a lost prince by the most enlightened and respectable portion of the nation.

of Sweden that any serious attempt was made to bring about the dethronement of the king; for the Swedes who were privy to Mr. Brown's mission, construed the delay that took place favorably to

inactive, or were employed in the most injudicious enterprizes. It now became evident, that the *personal hatred* of Gustavus the Fourth towards the French emperor was the only cause of the war; and there was little reason to hope for the termination of either the cause or the effect. The soldiers began to dislike and despise a king, who expected impossibilities from them, while he declined sharing in the toils and perils that he imposed. Some acts of injustice irritated individuals, and the treatment of the new levies excited the resentment and compassion of the people at large. Many patriotic men expressed their conviction* that the time was now come when a revolution was absolutely necessary to save their country; but they suffered themselves to be persuaded that it would yet be premature†. It was hoped that the loss of Finland would abate the king's ardor for war; that he would himself be convinced of his error, and at last permit his dismembered country to enjoy a necessary repose. But such hopes were without a foundation; preparations were made for another campaign, and the most absurd plans of operation were proposed. The most alarming reports of the intended partition of Sweden began to prevail, but made no alteration in the king's conduct; the imminent danger

* Many, very many, individuals were desirous he should *never* have ascended the throne; and when he avowed himself *the champion* of the Bourbons, his dethronement was seriously contemplated.

† Those persons, or they by whom those were influenced, were waiting the result of Mr. Brown's mission to the cabinet of St. James's.

their wishes; and when the official letter reached them, announcing the refusal of the British government to receive any delegates or assign any opinion as to the Swedish overture, further

exalted in every man's bosom the love of his country; and it now became the duty of every good citizen to endeavour to save what yet remained of the ancient independence of Sweden, and to withdraw allegiance from a king who despised the welfare of his people.

It were needless to enumerate the many different schemes of revolution which were proposed on different occasions; it will be sufficient to mention those which were not only determined upon, but almost accomplished. It is necessary to premise that the most zealous actors in this great enterprise were in Stockholm;* in that capital it was resolved that the revolution should commence, and be supported, according to circumstances, by the army.

After tedious and ineffectual consultations, which, under a more vigilant government, would have forfeited the lives of those individuals, the zeal and ardor necessary for such an enterprise seemed to suffer some abatement. While things were in this situation, an officer of high rank, in the disguise of a servant to his own adjutant, arrived in Stockholm, from the north, with the intention of hastening the revolution, while Åland might yet be saved. This officer found in the capital from *seventeen* to *twenty*† *persons* anxious to save their country

* This is an unquestionable truth; but thousands in the provinces were equally eager to second the enterprize.

† The author might have safely said, there were as *many thousands;* but it was an object, and a principal one, with the *new government* to create an opinion that the revolution was the result of a sudden impulse, and not of deliberation and design.

than stating that '*it had been received*,' there was no time for deliberation:—the Russians were preparing to invade Sweden from Åland, and also from Nya Carleby; the Danes had passed the

from the impending danger, but not agreed upon the time proper for the attempt.* With much difficulty this officer reconciled the discordant opinions; and the 8th of February was, at last, appointed. But one of the patriots, who, by his knowledge and experience, possessed the confidence of the rest, insisted that it was too early a day, and could not be persuaded to alter his opinion. It was, nevertheless, resolved, on the evening of the *sixth*, that the king should be arrested on the *eighth*. The spot chosen for this purpose was opposite to a tavern, in the street† through which the king usually passed, a little after two in the afternoon, on his way from the palace at Stockholm to Haga, where, even in winter, he generally resided, from a disgust which he had conceived for the capital. This intention was concealed from the person who had objected to so early a day, but it was agreed to abide by his advice in every subsequent transaction.

Just at this crisis, an officer arrived from the western army to the leaders of the revolution in Stockholm. All was now prepared, and the different parts in this great drama were assigned to proper actors. The king was to be conveyed to the fortress of Vaxholm,‡ the garrison of which was to be relieved by a part of the guards from

* This looks much like cowardice on the part of .....

† The tavern is called Mon Bijoux, situated on the right hand side of Drottning Gatan.

‡ Vaxholm, in English generally spelt Waxholm, is situated upon the S. shore of the Mälar, a few miles from Stockholm.

Swedish frontiers, had penetrated into Wermerland, and were in a state to menace the capital, or Gothenborg. Under the pressure of these melancholy circumstances there remained no other

Stockholm. A solemn oath was to be taken that nothing should be attempted against the life of the king,* but that every respect should be paid him consistent with safety and prudence. The regiment of cuirassier life-guards was informed of the projected revolution, and prepared to assist at its execution. When the king had been arrested, one of the principal leaders of the revolution, accompanied by a military force, was to go to receive the orders of the duke of Sudermania; whilst others, of the highest authority, should endeavour, in the name of their country, *to persuade* that prince to accept the government, with the title of administrator, till the states of Sweden could be assembled. In the mean time, it was agreed that no meetings should be held, nor conversations take place, that might betray this plan; but that each should punctually attend to the part assigned to him, and wait in silence the moment of action.

But on the 8th of February, a little before the appointed time, most of the patriotic band assembled, to consult the person who thought the attempt premature. He now violently protested against it; the plot seemed to be relinquished, the agents discouraged and dispersed, and most of the necessary preparations were forgotten and neglected. The moment of appointed action was at

* This condition was acceded to previous to Mr. Brown writing to Mr. Spencer Perceval, in April, 1808; about which period a contrary intention was manifested; and had the prince of Ponte Corvo landed in Scania, as was expected, it had been carried into effect.

or better alternative than to make a truce with the Danes; to obtain which it became necessary that the principal personages who meditated the dethronement of the king, and the expulsion of his hand, but although *many** were ready, with undaunted courage, to hazard all for the deliverance of their country, no beneficial result could be expected from their uncombined efforts. After many fruitless endeavours to reassemble the party, a letter† was dispatched to the western army, with intelligence that the plan for effecting a revolution was abandoned at Stockholm. The unexpected concurrence of some auspicious events; the unshaken firmness of the western army; and the imprudent conduct of the king, who seemed to act as though he were infatuated, and bent on accelerating his own ruin, whereby he compelled the patriots, at the very last moment, to hazard an enterprise which terminated in the deliverance of Sweden.

It may be alleged, that although the necessity of a revolution was already evident to the more enlightened part of the Swedes, yet that the loss of Aland, and the danger that threatened Stockholm, had not yet impressed such a conviction on the nation at large; and, therefore, that the general assent to such a measure was not to be expected. But it is unquestionably true, that political circumstances were at that time infinitely more favorable to the execution of such an enterprise than they were at

* If this portion of this interesting recital be strictly examined, many contradictory assertions will be discovered: a proof that it had something else besides truth for its object.

† This is a very *improbable* circumstance, unless it was written in cypher; most probably some confidential person was sent to the army, to make a verbal communication.

family, should agree to elect the Prince of Augustenburg* crown-prince, at a diet that was to be assembled immediately the king should have been dethroned.† Such was the source of the election

a later period. Had the king, on the 12th of March, been allowed to leave Stockholm, and to have travelled to the south of Sweden, it is probable that the army would

* The next presentation was to the duke and duchess of Augustenburg; the latter is the daughter of the unfortunate Matilda, and sister to the crown-prince: she is a woman of understanding and great merit; a pattern of virtue and conjugal fidelity, and generally esteemed by those whom she honors with her confidence and acquaintance. Vide Wolff—Northern Tour, p. 96.

† Herein lay the true source of the election of that prince, whose untimely death was the result, for nothing will ever reconcile the Swedes to be ruled by a Danish prince, to get rid of whom recourse was had to *poison*. When the obstacle was thus removed, *and not before*, application was made to the Emperor Napoleon, strongly urging him to nominate one of his family as crown-prince; and the author has recently been assured that Prince Eugene Beauharnois was applied to, who graciously declined the proffered honor. When Marshal Bernadotte commanded in Hanover, he conducted himself with such propriety that he gained universal esteem. A Swedish colonel, descended from an ancient Scottish family, and who became acquainted with the marshal at Paris, was the first person who communicated with him as to his election as crown-prince of Sweden. After the crown of Sweden had been offered to the then imperial family of France, the will of the emperor was consulted respecting the election of the prince of Ponte Corvo; who, convinced by the melancholy fate of the late crown-prince, that the Swedes would not submit to be ruled by a Dane, consented, *but not readily*, to the election of this prince, who had previously gained the esteem of many Swedish officers. Such is said to have been the real source of the election of the present king of Sweden as crown-prince. It would be ridiculous

of this prince; who was indebted to Napoleon for his election, and to the antipathy of the Swedes for his death.

Soon after his dethronement, the king was

have submitted to his orders,* and the country been irretrievably lost. Before the western army could have arrived for its defence, Stockholm would have been taken by the Russians; and the horrors of a civil war been aggravated by a foreign invasion. Anarchy and terror must have resulted, till the remainder of Sweden had been subdued and divided between her conquerors.†

A great number of people had, by various means, become acquainted with the great political change that was to have been attempted on the 8th of February; the number increased daily; and in every part of the metropolis the impending revolution was the topic of common conversation. The danger and difficulty of the enterprise was increased by the delay that had taken place; but it furnishes an incontrovertible and striking proof of the lone and desolate condition to which the improper conduct of Gustavus the Fourth, and the detestation in which his government was held, that, of the multitude of persons who were informed of the designs against his person and authority, not one solitary individual was there who felt attachment or interest enough in his fate to warn him of his danger. It cannot be doubted, that amongst those

to suppose that Napoleon was not consulted, and his consent obtained, previous to the nomination; the strange events that have ensued, prove this consent to have been one of the great errors committed by Bonaparte.

* The western army was ripe for mutiny as early as August, 1808.

† Russia might have suffered Denmark to have taken possession of a portion of the spoil, but only as a tenant *during pleasure.*

conveyed to Gripsholm palace, which formed a part of the patrimonial possessions of the great founder of the Wasa dynasty, and afterwards became the prison of several deposed sovereigns.

concerned in the revolution were some who only consulted their own interest; nor can the suspicion be concealed, that some one might exist, who, favoured by a foreign power, aspired to build his fortune on the ruins of his country. It is not unreasonable to ascribe that treacherous intention to a plan that was proposed, to effect a change in the government, with the interference of the army, by the sudden and simultaneous resignation of the great officers of state. The slightest knowledge of the disposition of Gustavus the Fourth must have been convincing, that such a measure would not have subdued the inflexible determination of the king *to continue the war*, whilst it was sure to have occasioned a complete dissolution of the frame of government, revived the ancient and deep-rooted prejudices between the higher and the lower orders, and too probably have driven the latter to have sought the *protection* of the foreign armies, which were already prepared for the subjugation of Sweden.

During this awful suspense, the western army did not remain inactive. After mature deliberation, Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre, who, in the former campaign, had commanded as adjutant-general, agreed with the other officers, that, on the 8th of March, the army should break up; and a proclamation was published, informing the nation of the motive and object of their movements, and with the further view of stimulating others, with the hope of yet saving the country. When the army entered Carlstadt, the inhabitants were requested to remain quiet, and the strongest assurances of protection for themselves and property were given. This army was as yet

Whilst he was confined in this palace, he drew a portrait of himself, seated upon a white horse, trampling upon the beast!—The day previous to his voluntary abandonment of his pretensions to

ignorant of the occasion of their sudden decampment, except from surmise; but, as each battalion reached the market-place, Colonel Adlersparre addressed the soldiers, and informed them that the deliverance of their country depended upon the success of the important enterprise in which they were then embarked; and that he came to resume the command, and share the peril. The soldiers received him with enthusiasm; with implicit confidence they trusted to his assertions, and without hesitation promised to defend their country with their lives.

The happy effects of strict discipline, and of mutual confidence between the officers and privates, were never more apparent than on this occasion: during the whole march, not a single man forgot his duty, nor yielded to the strong temptations to disobedience that were afterwards so industriously employed. This army directed its march towards Stockholm, whilst the left wing was detached to occupy Gothenborg. Intelligence of these movements were expedited to the different parts of the west of Sweden and to Stockholm. An agreement was entered into with General Staffelt, who commanded in Norway,* that the Swedish frontiers should not be attacked during the absence of the army;† which, on

* Little did the crown-prince of Denmark think how soon his own kingdom would be rent in two, and a moiety given to Sweden!

† This condition could not have been granted by General Staffelt without the express orders of the King of Denmark, and it is very probable that the Swedes who negociated, promised to elect the *Prince of Augustenburg* crown-prince of Sweden, as the price of this forbearance.

the throne of Sweden, he was visited by his mother, the queen dowager Sophia Magdalena. The meeting must have been truly distressing to the mother and the son, for though Queen Louisa

the 12th of March, entered the city of Örebro, and, on the morning of the 15th, intelligence arrived that the revolution had been effected at Stockholm.

The movements of the army of the west could not long remain unknown in the capital, and a vague report even reached the king, who contented himself with ordering the *police* to enquire into its truth, and a *police officer* was sent to procure further information. On Sunday, the 12th of March, an express arrived with a full account of the proceedings of the western army, and a copy of their proclamation. The king was panic struck. He was then at Haga: in the afternoon he set off for Stockholm. As soon as he entered the palace, the gates were shut; guards were placed at the different entrances of the town, who were commanded strictly to examine every person who entered, and to allow no one to leave Stockholm. In the evening an account of the approach of the western army was sent to all the public offices. The night was passed in expediting the most contradictory orders. All the great officers of state were ordered to repair to Nyköping; the military were about to depart from Stockholm; and one of the *German regiments*, with some artillery, was destined to oppose the western army. Baron Rosenblad, secretary of state, was called from his bed, and ordered to raise as much money as he could by the sale of bills drawn upon England, who, in vain, represented that at such an hour no business of that kind could be transacted. The governors of the bank were ordered to assemble at seven o'clock in the morning; and the proper officers were commanded to use

Ulrica, the mother of Gustavus the Third, was fully persuaded that the child born by Sophia Magdalena was illegitimate, and even the real father was pointed out by name and circum-

every possible effort to collect the greatest attainable number of horses.

The absolute necessity of negociating a peace, and the propriety of assembling the states, had frequently been represented to his majesty; and recently these measures had been more strongly urged by his ministers; but no hopes of accomplishing either of these desirable purposes would have remained had Gustavus been allowed to leave Stockholm. By such a step, the capital would have been left without a government and without protection; and, in the agitated state of the public mind, even the person of the king would not have been in safety. Those who were already deeply engaged in the steps preparatory to the impending revolution, still cherished a hope that this harsh remedy might not be necessary. They thought such a combination of awful calamities might compel the king to conclude a peace, and gratify the wishes of his people. When it was found that he was determined to quit the capital, and persisted in carrying on the war to the last extremity, the long-expected moment seemed arrived for carrying their plans into execution, and, by one desperate effort, to save the country from being overwhelmed by the dangers that threatened it on every side.

The reputation which Baron Adlercreutz had acquired in the last campaign in Finland, pointed him out as the most proper person to lead the way in so dangerous an enterprise, and he readily accepted the post of honor. During the night the baron had a conference with some officers, whom he appointed to meet him at the palace

stance, yet it is very probable that up to this awful moment, the momentous truth was never revealed to him whom it so much concerned. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that one

in the morning. The baron himself, and several others, were ordered to attend the king at eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th of March.

The unusual circumstance of shutting the gates of the palace occasioned some surprise, even in the lower class of inhabitants, whilst, with those who were in the secret, all was in confusion. General Helvig, master of the ordnance, was commanded, at his peril, to have some artillery ready to follow the king, although there were no horses proper for the purpose to be procured in Stockholm. The regiments in the city were ordered to different places, to be provided with ammunition and provisions; but so short a time were they allowed, that the provisions could not be distributed. Baron Rosenblad was sent to the governors of the bank, to inform them of his Majesty's *desire* to receive part of the money in their care, and to inquire of them if they *supposed* the remainder was in a state of *security?* From this message, the intention of Gustavus to seize on the money in the bank was tolerably palpable; but it became evident, when he afterwards said, "I may as well take the money as leave it for the rebels." To this the governors replied, "that they had received their trust from the states of Sweden, without whose authority they did not conceive themselves at liberty to surrender any part of the property of the bank, nor did they consider that it was in any danger." It was easy to foresee the consequence of this reply; but ere Baron Rosenblad could return to the palace, the revolution was effected.

Baron Adlercreutz, General Count Klingspor, Colonel

object of this melancholy visit paid by this grand-daughter of George the Second, was to unfold this tremendous secret, and by inducing him to sign a voluntary abdication, save her feel-

Silversparre, and many other officers, who were privy to the intended revolution, assembled at eight o'clock in the morning. The baron found, upon inquiry, that only four of the life-guards remained in the palace, the rest being gone to prepare themselves for their march. Little danger could be apprehended from them; and about fifty officers were now in and about the palace, determined to carry their point, or perish in the glorious undertaking.

Gustavus had previously ordered the gates to be shut, and no one was now permitted to leave the palace; officers were stationed in different parts, and a great number in an apartment next to the king's bed-chamber. Count Ugglas* was first called for by Gustavus.

Soon afterwards the duke of Sudermania arrived, who went in just as Count Ugglas came out. Baron Adlercreutz desired the count to stay,† who answered that he had received orders from the king, which he must *immediately execute*. The baron insisted that the count *should remain* where he was, as a moment of infinite importance was at hand; adding, "The king must be prevented from leaving Stockholm!"

Count Ugglas.—"I have already used every effort in my power to no purpose, and I advise you to offer any further remonstrance with great caution."

* If ever a man deserved to have suffered for his criminal advice to this unhappy king, it was this Count Ugglas, to whose councils many of his political misfortunes were owing.

† In all probablity he had been counselling the king to make use of the *German troops* to cut the throats of his subjects.

ings from the torture and ignominy to which a public investigation must inevitably have subjected her. The particulars of this important act, and a copy of the singular letter by which Gusta-

Baron Adlercreutz.—" It is now intended to remonstrate in a way that will be effectual."

Just then the duke of Sudermania left the royal presence, and Count Klingspor was called for. He had an interview with Gustavus, and strongly represented to *the king* the imprudence of leaving his capital. Baron Adlercreutz saw that the decisive moment was arrived. After sending round to those who were posted at the gates, and in various parts of the palace, to be on the alert; and having assembled a number of officers, he entered the king's chamber. When the door opened, the king seemed surprised, and the baron, *who came to dethrone him*, approached, and with a determined air, and a firm and steady voice, but yet in a respectful manner, said, " Sire, *the highest officers of the state, and of the army*, and the most wealthy and respectable of the inhabitants of this capital, have encouraged me to approach you, to remonstrate against your intended departure from this city; and to inform your majesty that the public mind is in the highest state of agitation from the unfortunate aspect of affairs." Gustavus here suddenly interrupted the baron, exclaiming—" *Treason! treason! you are all corrupted, and shall all be punished!*" " We are no traitors, Sire," said the baron, coolly, " but *true and loyal Swedes, who wish to save our country, and your majesty also, from destruction.*" The king instantly drew his sword, and the baron immediately rushed in upon him, and seized him round the waist, while Colonel Silversparre took the sword from the hand of Gustavus, who then vociferated—" *They are*

vus announced his abdication to the Diet, are given below.*

During the tedious confinement which the deposed sovereign endured at Gripsholm palace,

going to murder me! help! help!" They endeavoured to re-assure the king, who promised to be tranquil, *if they would return him his sword;* a request they endeavoured to evade; and when Gustavus, forgetful of his fallen estate, proudly *insisted* upon it, the baron gave him to understand that his sword would not be returned to him,

* ABDICATION OF THE KING OF SWEDEN.

Stockholm, May 11th.—The members having produced their credentials from their constituents, and the diet being duly constituted, the states proceeded in a body, on the 6th instant, to pay their respects to his royal highness the regent, and to express their grateful acknowledgments for the zeal, activity, and patriotism he had evinced in relinquishing the comforts and tranquillity of a private station, and convoking the grand constitutional assembly of the nation, as the only means of saving the country from impending destruction.

The diet then unanimously passed a vote of thanks to his excellency Count Klingspor, Major-General Adlercreutz, and Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre; as also to the subordinate officers, for their spirited and patriotic conduct, at a season of peculiar danger and difficulty. The marshal of the nobles was invited to communicate these resolutions to the house of nobles; which he did, in the presence of deputations from all the states.

On Tuesday, the 9th, his royal highness the regent opened the diet with a speech addressed to the states; in which the lord chancellor read, in an audible voice, a detailed account of the events and circumstances which had rendered the convocation of the states indispensably necessary for the salvation of the country. The mar-

he was afflicted by his uneven temper, and at times so very dejected, that his piteous looks and gestures excited almost as much contempt as pity: he was at times furious, and railed at every

nor himself be suffered *any more* to interfere in the government of Sweden!

The cries of the wretched Gustavus had alarmed some of the body-guard, who were just arrived, and also the servants of the palace, who endeavoured to force open the door, but not being able to succeed, they broke

shal of the diet, and the respective speakers of the clergy, burghers, and peasants, addressed his royal highness in appropriate speeches.

On Wednesday, the 10th, all the members of the states met at an early hour in one assembly, which will ever be remarkable in the annals of Sweden. His royal highness ordered the lord chancellor to read aloud the act of abdication, voluntarily made on the 29th of March, which was to the following tenor:—

"In the name of God, we, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, and duke of Schleswick, Holstein, &c. make known, that having been proclaimed king this day seventeen years back, and, with a bleeding heart, ascended a throne stained with the blood of *a beloved and revered father*, we regret our not having been able to promote the true welfare and honor of this ancient realm, inseparable from the happiness of a free and independent people. Now, whereas we are convinced that we cannot any longer continue our royal functions, and preserve tranquillity and order in this kingdom, *therefore we consider it as our sacred duty to abdicate our royal dignity and crown, which we do hereby, free and uncompelled; to pass the remainder of our days in the fear and worship of God; wishing that all our subjects and their descendants may enjoy more happiness and prosperity in future, through the mercy and blessing of*

one around him, at others, suddenly dissolving into tears;—he would sit and weep for hours together. His amiable partner displayed more fortitude. Her placid and resigned demeanour excited

the upper pannel with their sabres and other implements. At this crisis, Baron Adlercreutz caused the door to be thrown open, and fearlessly rushing into the midst of the crowd, seized a sabre from a hussar, and the staff of office from the adjutant-general, and, holding it up before

God; and revere the king. In testimony and confirmation thereof, we have *personally written* and signed the present, and corroborated with our royal seal.

"Gripsholm castle, the 29th of March, in the year of the nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1809.

(Signed) "GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

Upon which, Baron Mannerhjelm rose, and in a speech of considerable length, *drew a most affecting picture of the situation to which Sweden was reduced by the* IRRESISTIBLE PASSION OF THE KING FOR WAR,—*renounced all allegiance and obedience to the person and authority of Gustavus the Fourth, and declared him and* HIS ISSUE* *now and for ever, deprived of the crown and government of Sweden.*—The baron, with much firmness and animation, then asked whether this act,—this solemn resolution of his, in which his heart and tongue concurred, met with the approbation of the members composing that august assembly?—Long and reiterated acclamations, and "*Yes! Yes! All! All!*" resounded from all parts of the Ryksal. The baron's resolution was adopted by the constitutional representatives of the Swedish people, *without a single dissentient voice!*

* It is worthy of remark, that in this curious instrument, the king does not compromise the rights of his children; and, perhaps, he mentally referred to them, when he wished the Swedes "*to revere the king.*"

the warmest sympathy in the bosoms of her faithful attendants. It might have been expected that his dethronement and confinement would have taught him duly to appreciate the wise counsels

him, said, in a loud, commanding tone, and with great fierceness of demeanor,—"*I am now adjutant-general, and in that capacity I command the guards instantly to retire!*" After a little hesitation this command was obeyed, and several officers, whose sentiments appeared dubious, were put under arrest. The baron then ascended to the room where the guards usually assembled, there he found a considerable number, who seemed confounded at what had just occurred. The baron assured them that the king's person was not in danger, nor any ill intended, but alone to snatch the kingdom from destruction. He admonished them, in the most solemn and impressive manner, not to attempt any thing which might give rise to bloodshed, and cause the death of the king. Notwithstanding this address, the guards appeared undetermined how to act; and in such circumstances hesitation was most excusable. The baron saw them wavering, when, repeating his affirmations as to the purity of his intentions, the safety of the king, and the folly, as well as danger, of their resisting him, they were induced to refrain from violence and remain tranquil. Proper steps were then adopted to preserve good order in the capital. The armed burghers mounted guard at the bank and public offices; the streets were guarded by patroles of the burgher cavalry and the horse-guards, whose orders were to molest none but those who should break the peace.

Whilst Baron Adlercreutz was thus vigilant in securing the public tranquillity, the unhappy Gustavus entreated to

of his queen, and have filled his bosom with remorse for having slighted her advice. But the perverse, unhappy man, seemed to take a pleasure in having *one person* over whom he could

be spared the mortification of seeing those by whom he had been arrested and disarmed, and whom the baron had left guard over his person. These officers retired, and Counts Ugglas and Stromfelt were sent in to remain with him, and endeavour to reconcile him to his new and melancholy condition. By some means,* *unperceived*, Gustavus had drawn Count Stromfelt's sword from the scabbard, and when the general missed his sword (which Gustavus *carried naked in his hand*), and entreated to have it returned, the dethroned king exclaimed,—"*You are just as good a general without a sword as I am a king.*" At this moment Baron Adlercreutz had reached the anti-chamber; and being informed of what had happened, he saw the necessity of having some officers in the room as a guard upon him; he therefore appointed two, and was conducting them to the room, when Gustavus, who, through the door that had been broken, saw the baron approach, immediately ran off by the opposite door, that had *been left unguarded*,† which he locked on the outside! The danger which might arise from the king's escape animated the baron to new exertions, who, in an instant, throwing himself against the door, burst it open, and ran in pursuit of the king. In the next room there is a spiral staircase, open all round, which ascends to the floor above. When the baron entered this chamber, he saw the

* Perhaps by Count Ugglas, certainly by connivance.

† It is singular that so important a pass should not have been guarded; this also was most probably the result of connivance.

exercise absolute dominion, and he doubled the bitterness of her fall, by the utter want of delicacy or sympathy that marked his conduct towards her.

king on the uppermost step of the spiral stairs, whom he pursued, and by whom a large bunch of keys* were thrown in the baron's face, and he immediately disappeared. In this important race, the king had so much the advantage of the baron, that when the latter arrived at the top of the spiral stairs the royal fugitive was out of sight. By mere accident he took the same route that Gustavus had taken; and meeting some of the domestics in his way, the baron was directed by them in his pursuit; but he reached the court below without gaining a glimpse of the royal fugitive, who, in the mean time, had been so eager to escape that he fell on the (great stone) stairs, and hurt his arm severely.

The greatest confusion and dismay prevailed amongst the authors of the revolution, when the escape of Gustavus was discovered, and the most terrible consequences were anticipated:—every stair-case was crowded with people descending to intercept his flight. One of the king's *foresters*, named Greiff, was the first who reached the court-yard, or quadrangle, and saw the king, with the drawn sword, making towards the only gate that had been left open. As soon as Greiff arrived within reach of his sword, the king made a violent thrust, but with so unsteady an aim that the sword passed up the sleeve of Greiff's coat, wounding him slightly. His sword being thus entangled, his breath gone, and his strength

* He had probably taken them from the outside of that door, which he had the presence of mind to lock.

After their release and banishment from Sweden, the queen instituted proceedings against her husband, and, in 1810, they were divorced. A brother of the queen met with his death by an

exhausted, Gustavus was easily overpowered. Several persons soon arrived to the assistance of this officer, and the king, either unwilling to walk, or unable to support himself, was, by his own desire, taken into the white room. He was there seated in a chair near the door, and exactly opposite the portrait of the unfortunate queen of France, Marie Antoinette. Exhausted by his exertions, and disordered by indignation and sorrow, the captive king remained sullenly quiet the whole day. Tranquillity was easily maintained in the capital; not even the slightest displeasure was evinced, and the theatre, which was opened as usual, was attended by an audience more than commonly numerous. After the tumult in the palace had subsided, and nothing further was to be apprehended from the endeavours of the king to recover his liberty, Baron Adlercreutz and Colonel Silversparre repaired to the duke of Sodermanland,* representing the helpless state of the kingdom, and entreating him to assume the functions of administrator. The duke was deeply affected with the catastrophe which had driven from the throne the last branch of his family, and, on account of his advanced age and precarious health, he declined an employment which required so much vigor and exertion.† But these delegates

* It seems to have been a received opinion that the duke was privy to the plot, and a party in it; both which surmises are probably erroneous.

† It is not unlikely but Gustavus the Third extorted from the duke a solemn oath that he would not oppose the succession of his pseudo son to the throne, nor join in any attempt to dethrone him.

accident that befel him near Arboga, owing to the breaking down of his carriage; and the persecuted queen had not been long in Germany before she was dreadfully maimed: she recovered, and has

represented to him that even should he decline the proffered reins of government, the measures that had been taken could not be recalled; that the most dreadful results might follow the want of a regular government; and that the name and authority of his royal highness were absolutely necessary to give weight and respectability to any negotiations for peace, by which alone it was possible to save the kingdom from ruin. Convinced by these arguments, and overcome by the entreaties of the baron and those who accompanied him, the duke reluctantly complied;* the change of government was immediately proclaimed, and received with acclamations by the people. Perhaps no revolution which intended the destruction of despotism was ever affected with such facility. No tumult ensued, no blood was shed in any part of Sweden, *and it should be considered as a strong proof that the king had personally become an useless member of society, when no pang was felt in the separation.* The orders that had been given for the departure of the troops from Stockholm, and the uncommon circumstance of the gates of the palace remaining shut, awakened suspicion amongst those who were not altogether ignorant of the state of public affairs, that some extraordinary event was about to happen. The delightful weather caused the vicinity of the palace to be crowded with people of the highest rank; but there was not the least disorder; no voice was

* The reasons for rather believing, than otherwise, the accuracy of this statement have already been explained.

continued to live in the utmost seclusion, and in a style scarcely equal to that of a private lady of fortune in Great Britain.

The adventures of the ex-king, in Russia, heard to express the smallest discontent; and a military force was quite unnecessary for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

Many had been informed of the events that had happened almost immediately they had taken place, who made no secret of the information, which thus became generally diffused; but calms are sometimes the deceitful precursors of fearful hurricanes, and every precaution was adopted which could tend to secure the public peace.

At two o'clock in the morning the late king was conveyed to Drottningholm, attended by Colonel Silversparre and several other officers, and escorted by a detachment of the cuirassier guards. After remaining there a few days, the royal captive was removed to the palace of Gripsholm. The queen and royal children remained for some time at Haga.

Gustavus the Fourth had, on the 29th of March, voluntarily abdicated the throne of Sweden, and on the 10th of May the act of abdication was read to the assembled states. But the resignation of a right that was already forfeited, was looked on as superfluous; and, on the motion of Baron Mannerhjelm the states for ever renounced their allegiance to Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, and his heirs, and declared them for ever incapable of possessing the Swedish throne. This act was signed by the states and sent to the deposed king at Gripsholm.

He now expressed an ardent desire to be allowed to travel with his family to Germany, and to join a religious society at Christianfeld. But this desire could not be im-

England, and Germany (who, henceforth, is called Count Gottorp), are too well known to possess much interest. One of his most singular projects

mediately gratified. It was first to be considered by the states whether Gustavus could be allowed to live beyond the limits of the Swedish territory, consistent with the *safety* of the kingdom. But matters of more consequence claimed the immediate attention of the states. The advanced age and enfeebled constitution of the new king, gave no promise of a long reign, and the succession to the throne was yet undetermined. It was therefore absolutely necessary to choose a successor. It cannot be supposed such an election could be unanimous: it is well known there were those who exerted themselves to procrastinate, perhaps, to prevent if they could, *any* election being made. But these endeavours were unsuccessful, and the Prince Augustenburg was chosen crown-prince of Sweden. When this great question was decided, the states were at liberty to attend to the deposed king and his family. It was agreed that their removal from Sweden was necessary, and that Switzerland was the most proper place for their residence; but some difference of opinion arose as to the time of removal, although it was generally agreed that a peace should be first re-established, at least with two of the most formidable powers.

Charles the Thirteenth, raised to the throne to which his father had been elected heir, embraced with the warmest sympathy the cause of this fallen and unfortunate family. He entreated the states to assign an honorable support to a prince who had for seventeen years wielded the sceptre of Sweden,* and he endeavoured

* Not quite correct: he was king *seventeen years*, but during the first four Gustavus was a minor, and the Duke Charles governed Sweden as sole regent.

was the pilgrimage he meditated to Jerusalem, relative to which, a gentleman, who was selected to be one of his knights, has furnished the author with the following particulars, viz. Having arrived at Trieste, on his way to Constantinople, he put up at the same hotel where Count Gottorp lodged, who occupied two small rooms, meanly furnished,

to obtain from the Emperor Napoleon permission for Gustavus the Fourth to reside in Switzerland.

The states ordered a valuation to be made of the real and personal property belonging to the deposed king and his family: the whole was found to yield a revenue of about £9000 per annum, and as the committee had determined that £15,000 was required for the competent support of the late king and family, it became necessary for the country to contribute £6000 of this sum. This latter pension was divided into shares, one of which was assigned to the king; a second to the queen; and the third to the children, as long as any of them should live.

Gustavus the Fourth resided the whole summer at Gripsholm, and passed the greater part of his time in company with the queen and his children; and was treated in a manner that reflected honor upon the generosity of those by whom he was most deservedly dethroned. Gustavus was often very impatient to leave the kingdom, but this could not be permitted till an answer arrived from the emperor of France; a frigate, in the mean time lay ready at Carlscrona to receive and transport him to Germany. At length permission was received, and the king and queen left Gripsholm on the 6th of December, 1809, and the children some days after. Gustavus the Fourth was confined in Gripsholm castle eight months and eleven days.

that were situated at the end of a passage. The ex-king kept no valet, and was attended by the waiters. He seemed very temperate as to food and wines; was fond of fruits, of which he ate freely. He seldom smiled, and was never seen to laugh: he was easy of access, as any person might obtain an interview by asking it: his manner was affable but not graceful: his language rather diffuse: he seemed much attached to England: used to write much and frequently: his style of living displayed neither taste nor affluence. He had a female with him, whom he had brought from Germany; but she was never seen abroad in company with Count Gottorp, nor was she visited. This female passed as his wife, and was probably married in the half-legitimate way which the Germans call by *der linker hand*. His appearance and manner bespoke a man bowed down by heavy misfortunes: his common dress was a blue coat, white waistcoat, and nankeen pantaloons. He wore neither riband nor star, but was addressed as a prince, by the title of royal highness. He lived very recluse; and if occasionally he saw any of the merchants, it was in the most private manner.

The Asia, a British line-of-battle ship, commanded by Captain Skeen, was at this time at Trieste (August, 1815); this officer invited the ex-king to dine on board, and received him with a royal salute. This mark of respect, which did honor to the British captain as well as to the exiled

king, affected Gustavus so powerfully that he shed tears as he advanced toward Captain Skeen on the quarter deck.

Soon afterwards he applied to Captain Skeen, by letter, requesting a passage to Malta; whose answer was, that he should feel most happy in complying with his royal highness's wish, but that his instructions precluded him from following his inclinations. Gustavus seemed more hurt than offended by this refusal. The gentleman who communicated these particulars translated Captain Skeen's letter, which was written in English. The same person then referred him to the British vice-consul. Count Gottorp had already sent a courier to Constantinople to solicit a firman from the grand signior: during this period he used to consult his maps very frequently.

The '*black knights*,' whom the ex-king wished to join him in this pilgrimage, were intended to act as his couriers, aid-du-camps, and secretaries. They were to precede him, and announce his arrival at every town, or fort, with the strictest etiquette and formality. He intended that they should wear a particular uniform. On the return of the courier, the whole project was defeated, for the firman was found to have been denied without any reason assigned, which put an end to the proposed pilgrimage.

He then purchased a vessel at Trieste, on board of which he shipped two or three of his *black knights*. His lady went on board, and also

her servant; and they sailed from Trieste to Patras in Greece, where, it seems, his *black knights* demanded payment for their services, to which he refused to submit.

From Greece, Count Gottorp returned to Germany, and has now become a free citizen of Basle, in Switzerland; where, it is said, he purposes to pass the remainder of his days in retirement and peace.

Such are the principal incidents that marked the life of this extraordinary prince, who has been far more unfortunate than guilty; and whose vices and virtues, without malice or mercy, have been faithfully delineated in these pages.

FINIS.

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